CORINTH: THE FIRST CITY OF GREECE

RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

EDITORS

R. VAN DEN BROEK H.J.W. DRIJVERS
H.S. VERSNEL

VOLUME 139

CORINTH: THE FIRST CITY OF GREECE

An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion

BY

RICHARD M. ROTHAUS

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2000

This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes.
Enquiries regarding the submission of works for publication in the series may be directed to Professor H.J.W. Drijvers, Faculty of Letters, University of Groningen, 9712 EK Groningen, The Netherlands.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rothaus, Richard M.
Corinth: the first city of Greece : an urban history of late antique cult and religion / by Richard M. Rothaus.
p. cm. — (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, ISSN 0927-7633 ; v. 139)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 9004109226 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Corinth (Greece)—Religion. 2. Corinth (Greece)—Antiquities. 3. Corinth (Greece)—Church history. 4. Christianity and other religious—Greek. 5. Church history—Early church, ca. 30-600. I. Title. II. Series.
BL793.C6 R68 2000
292'.00938'7—dc21 00-026304
CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Rothaus, Richard M.:
Corinth: the first city of Greece / by Richard M. Rothaus –
Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2000
(Religions in the Graeco-Roman world ; Vol. 139)
ISBN 90-04-10922-6

ISSN 0927-7633
ISBN 90 04 10922 6

© Copyright 2000 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

. . . religion is the smile on a dog. . . .
Edie Brickel (1986)

. . . Corinth is now the first city of Greece . . . .
John Chrysostom, *Homily on*
1st Corinthians (c. 390)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface ix

I. Reconsidering Late Antique Religion 1
II. The Late Antique City 8
III. Broken Temples 32
IV. Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth 64
V. Isthmia and the Isthmian Games 84
VI. Christianizing the City 93
VII. Images and Power 105
VIII. Nymphs and Angels 126
IX. Conclusion 135

Appendices

A. Archaeological Evidence 141
B. A Gazetteer of the Late Roman Korinthia 151

Bibliography 156

Index 171

PREFACE

To acknowledge everyone who assisted in the creation of this book is, of course, impossible. I have spent a decade reconsidering and reinterpreting Korinthian history and the issues of religion in late antiquity; but this is hardly enough time to understand the complexity of the issues; obviously I have benefited by standing on the shoulders of others. My gratitude extends to all, but I can mention only a few here. First, I must recognize Timothy E. Gregory, with whom I spent many, many hours walking the Korinthia and visiting sites, and too few pleasant afternoons eating halvah and oranges while we tried to decide what it all meant. Without his continuing interest in the world of late antiquity, and his steadfast agreement that there was great knowledge to be gained from the re-examination of the scrawl in old notebooks and dusty context pottery, this work would never have been seen to completion.

Fieldwork and study was performed under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and with the permission of the 4th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology. I have, frankly, mixed feelings about the role of the American School in this process. The American School is a private institution that by Greek law, must approve and act as an intermediary with the Greek government for all American archaeological projects, including the study of material previously excavated by Americans. At times this works well, at other times it does not. Most seriously, the American School maintains a policy of restricting access to material "under study." In practice this means that I was repeatedly denied the right to study because scholars somewhere maintained an interest. This would make sense until the time scale is revealed: some of the material I could not see was excavated when I was in diapers, some twenty years before I was born. The evidence is already fragmentary enough; it helps no one to closet evidence away and take a proprietary stance toward primary historical knowledge. A research institution is not really a research institution if the guiding policy is maintenance of the past status quo at the expense of present inquiry.

Many individuals, however, were most helpful in helping me pursue my investigations. C.K. Williams II, former director of the American School of Classical Studies Excavations at Corinth, opened the archives and storerooms to me even at a time when I was unsure of what I was looking for. Robert Scranton, former director of the University of Chicago/Indiana University Excavations at Kenchreai, restored my faith at a time when access to unpublished archaeological material from other sites was being denied. Presented with a request to study the Kenchreai notebooks and artifacts, he immediately replied that of course I had "permission," as it was not the place of anyone to deny access to the past. I am deeply saddened that Mr. Scranton passed away before my work bore fruition. Timothy E. Gregory not only provided unlimited access to the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia, but also has allowed me to use OSU Isthmia as a much needed "office" for years of continued research. Photographs of objects have been provided by relevant excavations and digitally edited by me. Likewise all plans and translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

Spyros and Elisabet Marinos of Ancient Korinth have continually extended his hospitality and assistance in affairs that have ranged from things archaeological to rushing my children to the hospital when I was yet again in the field "somewhere." The Kriebardi family of Ancient Korinth provided companionship and care for my family whenever we have lived in the village, and often fed us in that year when money was scarcest and the exchange rate the worst.

Several individuals walked the fields and pondered the records with me while I was researching this book; P. Nick Kardulias deserves special mention among these. Here also should be listed the dozens of students who, since 1992, have also made this work possible. I hope none take offense if I do not list names here. Likewise, I would like to acknowledge the scholars who have taken the time to listen to my ideas and share theirs, especially Judith Binder, Garth Fowden, David Jordan, Arjia Karivieri, Kathleen Slane, Danaë Thimme and Hector Williams. Amber DeMorett helped with the formatting issues of this book.

My parents were endlessly gracious in helping financial ends meet during graduate school and the first part of my academic career, but more importantly freely gave moral support for me to pursue what I felt was important. The greatest admiration goes to my family: my wife Paige, who thought that living in a two-room shack, with an outside bathroom usually without running water but plenty of chickens, while caring for a two-month old baby, sounded like a good idea; my son Benjamin, who in school casually reported on his summer vacation with the remark "I helped my dad dig up a dead guy;" and Matthew who, after spending his first two years in a drought, danced with delight in a mountain spring when he learned that in some places, the water flows freely and with abundance.

CHAPTER ONE

RECONSIDERING LATE ANTIQUE RELIGION

This work is an investigation of late antique cult in the Korinthia, not a theoretical treatise. The major theoretical assumptions are neither new nor particularly controversial: 1) Process, not events, is important. 2) Religion is a product of its societal and historical context. 3) Archaeology can yield evidence about society.[1] I mention these only because there are scholars working in the field who do not share these assumptions, and it is easier to make them clear in the beginning.

The key, although not unique, theoretical innovation is a partial rejection of the terms "pagan" and "Christian." The issue is reasonably complicated, and worthy of extended consideration. The root of the problem is, I think, a reversal of cause and effect in some understandings of the Christianization of the ancient world.[2] It is not that paganism gave way to Christianity and thus the pagan state gave way to the Christian state, but rather that a "Christian" state overcame a non-Christian state, and thus Christianity defined and forced out polytheism. The religious transformation followed the civic transformation, and must be understood in this context.

The process of Christianization was, in part, a problem of identification.[3] The monotheistic and exclusionary claims of Christianity struggled in stark contrast to the diverse polytheism of antiquity. Consequently, various religious and political authorities found it necessary and desirable to categorize religious practice and belief. A major component of the practical problems was creating a territorial model where none existed before.[4]

When the emperors decided to favor Christianity and Christians, and shortly thereafter to forbid non-Christian activity, it became necessary to define religious behavior in an exclusive manner. The difficulty of this process should not be underestimated. I do not intend to deny that for some the difference between paganism and Christianity was, at one level, clear. Augustine elaborated the differences between Rome and the City of God, and Libanios had his Hellenes and Gigantes. One need only refer to the battle between the Christian and pagan Neoplatonists over the possession of Plato to be reminded, however, that even among the rarefied thought of the intellectuals differentiation was not always simple. As will be demonstrated, the differentiation was even more difficult for those, educated or not, engaged in less philosophical religious practices.

---

[1] The influences are far too many and diverse to list here. The investigation began over a decade ago, sparked by comments written by MacMullen ((1981) xii-xiii). Major influences include but are not limited to Asad (1993), Fowden (1993), Gregory (1979a), Herrin (1989), Krautheimer (1983), Price (1984), Renfrew (1985), Shanks and Tilley (1987).

[2] For a similar error see de Coulanges (1864), where he argued that a movement from ancestral cult to nature religion resulted in the denigration of kinship groups and the elevation of social groups. It is almost universally agreed that he reversed cause and effect in his analysis. Cf. Morris (1987) 111-12.

[3] This argument has been presented in Rothaus (1996).

[4] On territorial models, syncretism and eclecticism see Berling (1980) 1-13.

Our vision of these boundaries between "pagan" and Christian is further complicated by our own conscious and unconscious compartmentalization of historic and social phenomena. I have found the use of set theory helpful to explicate this situation and our understanding of it. Historians, and most other humans, tend to think in terms of sets, definable groupings of real objects sharing common characteristics. The creation of such conceptual sets has become a quite ordinary thought process. These sets, be they religious or other, allow the discussion of continuity and discontinuity and make the overly complex understandable.[5] The sets are, however, a shorthand designed to reduce complicated reality to manageable concepts. As such, they can never be completely adequate to the historian, and in fact, can be a two-edged sword: they can clarify, but they can also distort. The thrust of my argument is this: the conceptual sets "pagan" and "Christian" do not always serve adequately to study the religious world of late antiquity. For some questions, they suffice, but for others they obfuscate.

The standard dichotomy, pagan and Christian, has long been recognizably false (Figure 1). The set "Christians" can be made with a very simple definition--those who worship Christ. The boundary of this set is relatively clear. "Pagans," however, are a non-set; they can only be defined as those who do not worship Christ, and there is no external boundary to this group. For some purposes, for example proselytism, this definition serves perfectly well. This set, non-set combination is evident in many late-antique sources, perhaps most notably the Codex Theodosianus.

For the historian, however, this categorization can be disastrous. It begins with assumed superiority of Christianity and a derogatory term--*paganos.*[6] Moreover, the division creates a false grouping of people. This phenomenon has been seen more recently in India, where in the 19th century British colonialists coined the term "Hinduism." The word "Hindu" has an ancient pedigree, but initially was used as an ethnic, not a religious determinant. The British, faced with the innumerable sects of India and a caste system, simply lumped all together in one *faux* religious tradition: Hinduism. It is impossible to speak historically of Hinduism and maintain any sort of accuracy; the false construct serves only the creation of a western, imperialistic map.[7]

---

[5] For set theory and its application in cognitive processes and especially historical thought and analysis see Chaudhuri (1990) 27-37.

[6] Cf. Fowden (1991) 119.

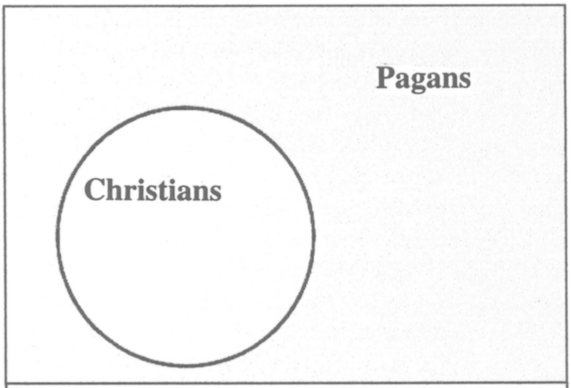


Figure 1: Christians and Pagans

Likewise, the term "pagan" served the creators of Christianity well enough to identify the "other." The definition, of course, of Christian itself was not really all that simple. There are many groups subsumed by my facile definition that would not be so generous in the distribution of membership. Scholars might place, for example, Monophysites, Nestorians and Arians under the Christian rubric (Figure 2). These groups themselves often placed their opponents outside the circle. As is evident to the reader, we could sit here and make up sets all day long, some useful, some not so useful. This is, in part, the beauty of set theory. It can be expansive rather than constrictive, and allows for multiple approaches and interpretations of a limited body of evidence.

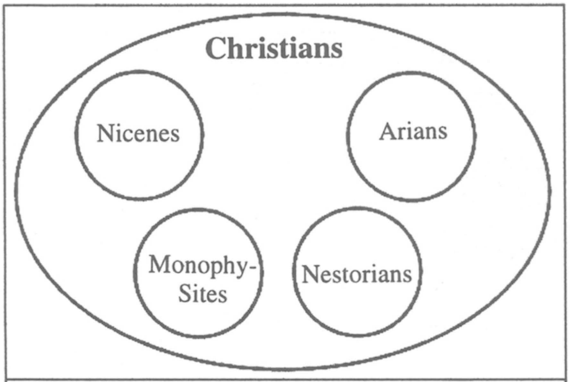


Figure 2: Subsets of Christianity.

As will have been noted by now, however, none of this really helps in our understanding of "paganism." One problem is that each of the set combinations given so far depends on a Christocentric viewpoint. Additionally, all the above combinations share definitions based on beliefs. This creates two problems. While in many circles, not just elite groups, questions of belief and doctrine were commonplace, one would not want, I think, to extend this picture too far.[8] The primary religious activities of antiquity were rituals, and these rituals, including sacrifice, remained central well into late antiquity.[9] Keith Thomas has argued that a focus on belief as the primary component of religion is a creation of the Protestant Reformation.[10] While scholars have quibbled over whether the change comes with the Enlightenment or the Reformation, I think the point has held valid. Post-enlightenment thinkers associate religion with what a person believes. Without denying the well-known doctrinal disputes of the late antique world, I wonder if it might not be revelatory to categorize groups not on the basis of beliefs but on the basis of practice, or ritual.

---

[7] Hawley (1991).

[8] On theology and the populus, see Gregory (1979a).

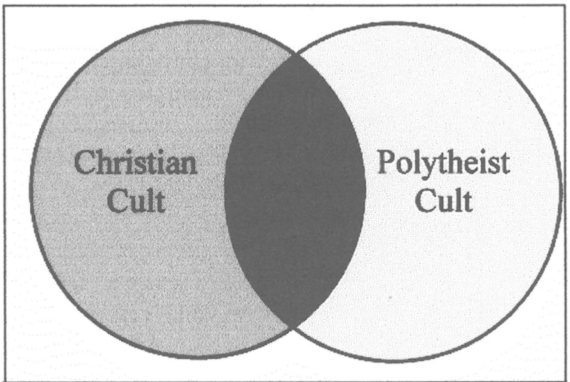


Figure 3: Intersection of cult activity.

If we apply definitions based on practice, we gain a very different, and I think more useful image of late antiquity. These groups can be defined in many different ways. With another simple definition, we get an interesting picture. I will group under Polytheist Cult those who pray and make devotions to multiple deities, under Christian Cult those who pray and make devotions to Christ (Figure 3). The two groups are real sets--no one is defined by who he is not or what he does not do. The overlap has, of course, been noted before and historians have long known that there were people who did both. Nevertheless, I find this categorization particularly useful. With a definition based on practice, not belief, the overlap represents an interesting group. The individuals in the middle are fully part of both groups. To refer to them as lapsed Christians or almost-converted pagans takes us back to forming negative categorizations. While belief-based definitions might see this as an area of irreconcilable conflict, it does not follow that the members of this union saw any such problems. To assume such conflicts is to apply, I think, some inaccurate definitions.

These groupings based on practice can be taken even farther. Let us borrow our practice-based sets "Polytheist Cult" and "Christian Cult" and indicate them on the basis of a very specific religious practice: the devotional use of lamps and candles. Dedicatory lamps and candles were common in a variety of settings throughout antiquity.[11] Such activity continued in the late

---

[9] Harl (1990).
[10] Thomas (1971).
[11] Nilsson (1950) 96-111.

Roman period. In late fourth and early fifth century Gaza, for example, women commonly dedicated lamps to a statue of Aphrodite, or so we are told.[12] The lamp became a hallmark, to some Christian apologists at least, of pagan cult. Tertullian (*apol.* 46) objected vehemently to the use of lamps during the day, as that was part of pagan ritual. The use of lamps and candles was so strongly identified with pagan activity that Jerome (*contra Vigilantum* 4, 7) protested that the introduction of candles into the churches was an inexcusable use of pagan rites. While the evidence need not be presented in full here, it is well-established that lamps and candles were (despite such protestations) an important part of early Christian burial ritual, a common votive offering in churches, and an essential liturgical device.[13] In this context of ritual action, the definitions "polytheist" and "Christian" become rather pointless. All are subsumed into one group (Figure 4). There is, I think, a common religious stratum of late antiquity where questions of "pagan" and "Christian" have become so blurred as to be pointless. If we are no longer able to discuss different "Christian" activities or practice, or differentiate "pagan" activity, then much of the past dialogue about the transformation or Christianization of the Empire becomes peculiarly irrelevant.[14]

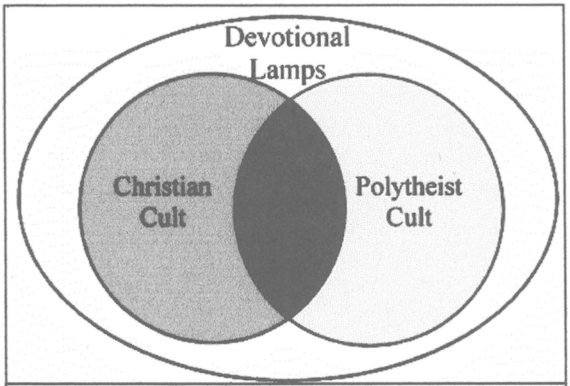


Figure 4: Cult usage of lamps.

It is one matter to reject the standard cognitive sets, another to create new ones. Unfortunately, however, it is much easier to destroy than create. With the recognition that such sets are not absolute, I will try to use sets that have their central unifying principle not in belief but in practice. It is this emphasis on practice that will create a different picture of late-antique religion, for practice is a set that subsume portions of groups that have been categorized as "pagan" and "Christian." Likewise, an essential working set is the *dominant*, and its corresponding non-set, the *inferior*. This identification is essential, for what we often called religion is defined by authorizing discourse.[15] Power, in our case here institutionalized Christianity, creates, defines and resolves the discourse. It is this very discourse, in fact, that created the sets "pagan" and "Christian," and began the process of the creation of the concept generally recognized as religion. To see the religious life of the fourth through sixth centuries using the constructs of this discourse is, perhaps, a-historical. This work will not examine beliefs, or even meanings of practices, but explore the possibilities and the range and effect of cult activity and authoritative status.

---

[12] V. Porphyrii 59.

[13] *ODB*, s.v. "Candles," Lamps," and "Lighting, Ecclesiastical."

[14] Essentially my argument is a simplified application of fuzzy logic. A bivalent system (A OR not A) works well from an Aristotelian and Christian prespective, but poorly for the religious world of antiquity. In that realm, a multivalent system (A AND not A) holds true. Kosko (1993).

Cult, for purposes here, can be defined as activity directed toward or in relationship to a deity or deities by an identifiable and self-recognizing group of individuals in a form identifiable to both participants and non-participating observers. The difference between actions that serve an immediate physical purpose and actions that are symbolic or manipulative of nature can, however, be slight. Furthermore, it is a conceptual fallacy to draw a firm distinction between the two types of activity. Cult activity can thus be "invisible" in the material record; mundane remains may be exactly that, objects functional for day-to-day existence, or they may be cult objects. This dichotomy, and the resulting difficulties, is well enough known that it need not be belabored further, merely recognized. I give only one example: Christian cult prior to 312 is virtually invisible in the archeological record because it utilized standard household settings and items; after 312 Christian cult was monumentalized and is easily recognizable in the archaeological record.[16] The problem facing the student of late antique religion is how to recognize cult in a world that has outlawed and de-monumentalized traditional cult activity, and this task will absorb much of our attention.

The subject of this work is a specific example of a monumental and long-term societal and religious transformation, arguably one of the most important in human history. The reader should not expect, however, a grand narrative of the process. Even if such were desirable, the evidence from Corinth is insufficient. Braudel hypothesized various planes of time and thus various aspects of man: geographical time, social time, and individual time.[17] Here we are concerned with social time, and thus the narrative, such as it is, will be only the broadest.

Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the evidence will prevent a synthetic analysis and explanation, and we are forced to turn our attention only to those things we know enough about. This is particularly true of the archaeological evidence, so often excavated and published (if at all) by individuals whose desires were to strip off the upper layers as quickly and cursorily as possible. Thus one will find within this work an attempt to find out what "really happened" at Corinth, and digressions from issues under consideration. The problem is that certain physical data must be determined: temples did fall down at some time, people were buried, churches were built in specific locations.

---

[15] Asad (1993) 37-8.

[16] The bibliography is immense and cannot be cited here. See White (1990) for the use of domestic space for cult in the late Roman period.

[17] Braudel (1972) 21.

Much of this archaeological evidence is presented here for the first time, and I must include a level of detail sufficient to allow the reader to judge my interpretation of the evidence. Just as a scholar would not derive interpretations from a text that no one else has access to, I am not comfortable with presenting interpretations based on unpublished, inaccessible archaeological evidence. The book would certainly be more euphonious without lists of lamps and stratigraphic analyses, but as they do not exist elsewhere, I must include them here.[18] The following chapter is the clearest example of this necessity. Before we discuss cult in late antique Corinth, we must first address the nature of Corinth as a city in the late antique period.

---

[18] The problem is a common one in areas that have been under long term investigation. Many sites suffer from a tremendous backlog of unpublished material. Special credit must be given to C.K. Williams II, former director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens Corinth Excavations, for allowing me access to unpublished material, and permitting first-time publication of many objects in this work.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY

Cult did not exist in a vacuum. Any attempt to understand the religious transformations of late antiquity must ultimately be based on an understanding of the political, civic and social changes of late antiquity. This was a period in which local and Imperial political structures and the very nature of political power was changing.[1] The physical aspects of the city as well as the social hierarchy of society were finding new forms. Christianity had found a new role as favored religion and was struggling to create an identity and position for itself.[2] These changes were all interrelated, and a continual state of influence and re-influence was the norm. It is, perhaps, this fluid state of affairs that made late antiquity a period in which the fundamental standards of the classical world were molded into something new.[3] Nevertheless, late-antique Greece was also marked by continuity, and our expectations must include both developmental aspects.

The city of Corinth was the center of the Korinthia, and as such, we must make an attempt to understand this entity (Plan 1). While our information is less than we would like, enough is known to present a fairly accurate portrait of Corinth as a late antique city. As cult cannot be known or understood outside of its context, an analysis of Corinth as city is not out of place, but rather necessary.[4] This chapter will provide a basic outline of what we know of Corinth in late antiquity. This is not an exhaustive or definitive explanation of late antique Corinth, but an attempt to provide the background necessary to understand religion and cult in the period.

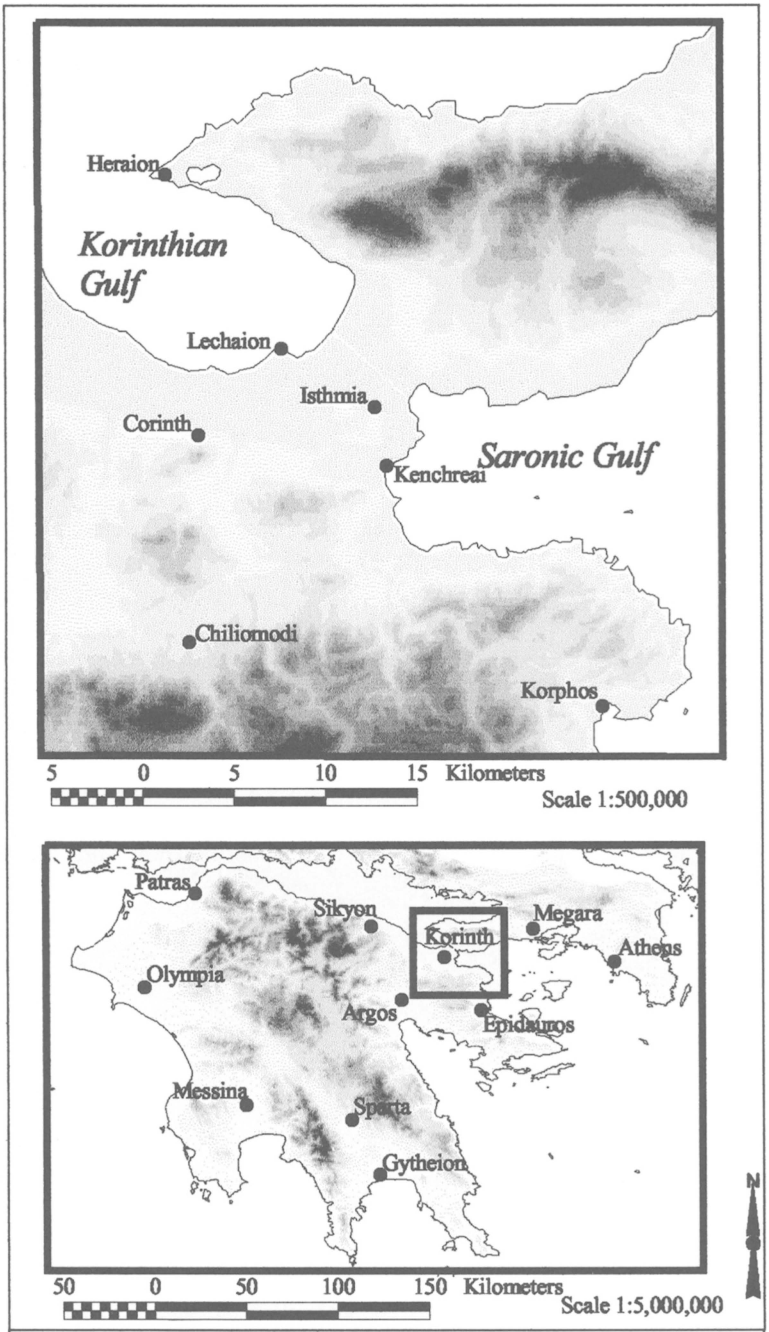
---

[1] Leibeschuetz (1972) is a superb study based on the evidence of Antioch, see especially pp. 167-242. On power see Brown (1992).

[2] See especially Herrin (1989).

[3] On urban change see Spieser (1984), and for later developments Bouras (1981), for the Balkans see Gregory (1984), for Syria see Kennedy (1985b). On the "Christianization" of the city see Dagron (1977), Saradi-Mendolovici (1990).

[4] Engels (1991) is extremely uncritical of the evidence, and full of basic factual errors. His discussion of the archaeological evidence is based on old reports and is rarely reliable. I have made no attempt to correct his errors here. Engels interpretations are equally problematic. See, for example, p. 142: "When the classical conception of humanity disappeared during the traumas of the third and fourth centuries A.D., the classical city disappeared with it. People now thought they were stupid and evil, and hence, incapable of either self-government or economic self-management." Such need not be addressed. See Saller's (1991) review.


Heraion
Korinthian Gulf
Lechaion
Isthmia
Corinth
Kenchreai
Saronic Gulf
Chiliomodi
Korphos
5 0 5 10 15 Kilometers
Scale 1:500,000
Patras
Sikyon
Megara
Korinth
Athens
Olympia
Argos
Epidauros
Messina
Sparta
Gytheion
50 0 50 100 150 Kilometers
Scale 1:5,000,000
N

Plan 1: Korinthia and the Peloponessos.

The question of the continuity of civic institutions and the nature of the *polis* in the late antique and early Byzantine world have become a vexed question, for a variety of reasons. Students of this subject continue to contend with scholars of earlier periods who adhere to a much-outdated vision of late antiquity as a decadent decline into impoverished fragmentation. The cities of late-antique Greece displayed a marked degree of continuity. Scenarios of barbarian destruction, civic decay, and manorialization simply do not fit. In fact, the city as an institution appears to have prospered in Greece during this period. It was not until the end of the sixth century (and maybe not even then) that the dissolution of the city became a problem in Greece.[5] If the early sixth century *Syndekmos* of Hierokles is taken at face value, late-antique Greece was highly urbanized and contained approximately eighty cities.[6] This extreme prosperity is born out by recent archaeological surveys in the Aegean. For late-antique Greece, a paradigm of prosperity and transformation is more accurate and useful than a paradigm of decline and fall.[7]

Almost all scholars agree that late antiquity was a very prosperous period and the economic vitality of the period is being increasingly recognized. The period from the fourth to the seventh century may be one of the most economically active in the Eastern Mediterranean.[8]

Our concern with Corinth ends with the sixth century. The reason for this *terminus* is clear: the evidence ceases to reveal any non-Christian cult activity. The situation is hardly simple, however, and has proven to be perhaps the more difficult question facing late Roman and Byzantine historians of Greece. [9] While I have no intention of addressing the question of the Slavic invasions and their impact on Corinth and Korinthian society, it must be noted that the neat and clean *terminus* I use is hardly neat and clean. The problems of evidentiary recognition are immense and while I am certain something happened at the end of the sixth century that changed the archaeological record, I am not sure what it was, and am certainly not sure it should be seen as a mark of social discontinuity. At the present the evidence for polytheist cult activity seems to end with the sixth century; this picture may change as we learn more about and begin to recognize material from the seventh century.[10]

---

[5] Gregory (1984) 271, Thompson (1959). On Athens see Frantz (1988), on Corinth see Scranton (1957). Bouras (1981) 615-626 is extremely judicious.

[6] Gregory (1984) 273.

[7] On survey see Alcock (1989), Renfrew (1982), Wright (1990), van Andels and Runnels (1987). Unpublished work and conversations with T. E. Gregory have been important in developing my approach and in leading to preliminary conclusions. For the paradigm see Fowden (1988), Bintliff and Snodgrass (1988), Wickham (1984), Russel (1986). Cf. Kennedy (who does not directly espouse this view) (1985 a and b).

[8] The debate has, in fact, not focused on the activity of this period, but rather the starting and ending dates for the prosperity. Much of the evidence for this prosperity has come from recent archaeological surveys. Alcock (1989a and b), Bintliff (1985), (1988), (1991), Cutler (1982), Foss (1975), (1977), Gregory (1984), (1986a), Haldon (1990), Kaplan (1985), Kazhdan (1954), Kennedy (1985a and b), van Andel (1986), (1987), Wright (1990).

[9] Gregory (1981) and Cutler (1982) for the theoretical background. See also Angold (1985), Foss (1977), Ostrogorsky (1959), Russell (1986), Weiss (1977) and Weithmann (1979). Zakythinos (1966) is essential for proponents of a break.

Linked to these questions of continuity and change is the rapidly changing social structure of the late antique city. Late antiquity saw a dramatic re-adjustment of the local ruling classes. A tendency among the curial class to flee their responsibility, and pressure from the Emperor to keep the *curiales* in place became the norm beginning in the early fourth century. An expansive Imperial bureaucracy not only provided new positions for aspiring (and fleeing) local aristocrats but also assumed the responsibilities once fulfilled by the city councils.

As the councils declined in power, the provincial governors grew in power, and local concern focused upon this office. The *defensor civitatis*, appointed after 387 by the local council, became the principal magistrate of the city; his office was designed to protect against corrupt provincial officials. In 505, Anastasios instituted an important reform designed to revitalize the rapidly-corrupted office of *defensor*: the appointment of the *defensor* was to be decided by the bishops and landholders. This reform marks a dramatic increase in the power of the clergy and rich landholders and marked the end of the city council as an institution, although most of its members would have been, of course, among the wealthy landowners. The change was significant, for the *boulé*, one of the standard identifying institutions of the classical city, had disappeared.[11] As the church slowly assumed the obligations of social relief and even public works, it and its leaders became increasingly important to the people and the city.[12] The Emperor remained the acknowledged embodiment of all power, but the church, represented by the Bishops, had become the most accessible institution of authority and thus assumed an important position.[13] It is no coincidence that this development occurs at roughly the same time that many cities underwent a program of Christian monumentalization.

As the provincial governor gained greater power and control, the system of civic patronage adapted accordingly. In a world where many aspects of life were controlled by the provincial governor, who was, of course, merely acting for the emperor, a new concept of power developed. Power rested in the individual, and success required an alliance with an influential patron.[14] With the decline and disappearance of the council, the choices of patrons were limited to wealthy landowners or the clergy, especially the bishops. Bishops were perhaps the best choice. By the fourth century it had become increasingly clear that the bishops could and would interfere in the "secular world;" by the sixth century this had become the norm. The city councils and patrons of the classical world had been replaced by the wealthy landowners and bishops in the late-antique world. This was a fundamental social change that had far reaching affects.

---

[10] See Bon (1951) 27-42 for a basic review of the evidence.

[11] Jones (1966) 207-9.

[12] Jones (1966) 253-4.

[13] This approach to patronage and power is, of course, based on the work of Peter Brown. On the bishop and the city see Brown (1992) 146-152.

[14] Liebeschuetz (1972) 259-60.

While each city had its own character, in general the late-antique city continued to fulfill the civic social and economic functions associated with classical cities and maintained its position as population center.[15] The public amenities of most cities continued to be maintained through the sixth century and the population would come to the city for food, goods, and entertainment, as well as to take care of legal and social issues. Economically, the cities were largely dependent on the Imperial administration, which not only confiscated most municipal funds but administered those left to the city (at least in theory).[16]

The specifics known of Corinth elaborate and confirm this general picture. The fourth century was a time of Imperial reorganization, but Corinth managed to maintain its important and prestigious position. Under the Diocletianic reorganization, Corinth remained the capital of the province of Achaia, part of the Illyrian prefecture, and in the diocese of Moesia. Constantine's reorganization shifted Illyricum to the diocese of Macedonia, but the governor of the province continued to reside in Corinth. Throughout the fourth century Corinth found itself subject to the praetorian prefect of Italy. This changed at the end of the fourth century when Illyricum was made a diocese with its own praetorian prefect. At this point Corinth became administratively part of the Eastern Empire.[17]

Through much of the fourth century Achaia and Corinth were subsidiary to the church of Rome as a corollary to their membership in a western Imperial diocese. The ecclesiastical situation became much more ambiguous at the end of the fourth century, for although Corinth became administratively part of the Eastern Empire, ecclesiastically it remained tied to Rome. While this difference cannot be taken up here, the relationship may have had a very real effect on the doctrinal and liturgical practices of the Korinthians and Achaians. Corinth maintained its position as capital and home of a Metropolitan bishop through the sixth century, as well as under the Byzantine Empire. [18] During the fifth century there seems to have been some struggle between Constantinopolitan and Roman ecclesiastical factions in Corinth, but the evidence is too brief to understand he situation.

---

[15] *ODB* (1991) 1.464-66, s.v. "Cities" for an accurate summary. Jones (1966) is still essential.

[16] Leibeschuetz (1959), Jones (1966) 147-150, Leibeschuetz (1972) 149-69. Much work still needs to be done of the economies of the Empire and city in the fifth and sixth centuries. See also Hendy (1985) 173-187.

[17] Bon (1951) 3-4. Most of this introduction has been drawn from Bon. Bon's work is extremely reliable, but the reader should be aware that it is time for a re-evaluation of the evidence.

[18] Bon (1951) 4-9.

Corinth, but the evidence is too brief to understand he situation. Corinth seems to have remained tied to Rome more often than not, however.[19]

We know of several prominent pagan Korinthians of the fourth and early fifth century thanks to Libanios. Our sources are, unfortunately, limited, but sufficient to indicate that several members of the wealthy Korinthian families were active in the Imperial government and open, even vocal, about their "paganism."[20] Our information about this group is born of controversy involving Aristophanes and Parnasios, both Korinthians and associates of Libanios. Parnasios, who was born in Patras, was Prefect of Egypt c. 357-359.[21] He was charged with treason and Aristophanes, who had accompanied him, was caught up in this affair. Parnasios eventually returned to Corinth.[22]

Aristophanes' case is known because Libanios took it up for him and petitioned Julian for his restoration.[23] Aristophanes, having been driven from Corinth by the machinations of Eugenios, went to Syria where he found a friend, teacher and patron in the philosopher Fortunatos, who gained an Imperial position and thus immunity for Aristophanes.[24] Libanios pointedly mentions that Aristophanes felt he would receive respect from Fortunatos, a *Hellene*, here perhaps possessing its double meaning of Greek and pagan. Aristophanes was also a friend of Felix, *magister officiorum* of Constantius, *comes sacrarum largitionum* for Julian, and Christian convert to paganism.[25]

It was while he held his Imperial position that Aristophanes began his association in Egypt with his fellow Korinthian Parnasios. Aristophanes was charged with introducing an astrologer to Parnasios for the purpose of inquiring about forbidden things, most likely the health of the Emperor. Aristophanes protested that the inquiries were strictly private, but to no avail. He was flogged, imprisoned, forced to accept the liturgy of *strategos* in Corinth for a second time (apparently *in absentia*), forbidden to return to Corinth, and as Libanios emphasized most, stripped of his personal honor.[26] In this time of trouble, Aristophanes turned to the gods as best as he could. But public non-Christian cult had been outlawed, and Libanios describes Aristophanes (*Or.* 14.41):

> He went to the remains of the temples, bringing no incense, no sacrifice,
> no fire, no libation, for that was not allowed, but grief, a mournful voice,

---

[19] Scranton (1957) 6-7, Bon (1951) 8-9, 88-9 on the seventh century.

[20] Bon's ([1951] 6) claim of Korinthian polemical resistance to Christianity is an extrapolation from the activity of Aristophanes. Cf. Scranton (1957) 4. Engels' ([1990] 119-20) summary of Aristophanes' career is full of questionable inferences.

[21] On Parnasios see Libanios *Or.* 14.15-17, *Ep.* 734 (Foerster 822), Amm. Marc. 19.12.10, Seeck (1966) 231-2. Cf. Kent (1966) n.502 for a statue dedication in Corinth by Parnasios.

[22] *Ep.* 734 (Foerster 822).

[23] *Or.* 14. Cf. *Ep.* 1228 (Foerster 1214), Julian *Ep.*74, Seeck (1966) 88-90.

[24] *Or.* 14.10-12.

[25] *Or.* 14.36, Seeck (1966) 155 and references there.

[26] *Or.* 14.16-20.

> and weeping. He broke forth in tears, eyes cast not to the risky sky, but to the ground . . .[27]

Aristophanes was not always silent in his polytheism, however, but often bold. Libanios praises him for always swearing by the gods, even during his trials.[28] He was active in promoting cults throughout the Empire.[29] Demeter and Kore, Sarapis, Poseidon, Iacchus of Lerna and many other deities all were honored by Aristophanes, and presumably their cults were active in or near to Corinth.[30]

What we learn of the religious practices of these individuals is incidental but not coincidental; polytheism clearly is part of their bond with Libanios. Aristophanes' father and uncles (on his mother's side) were active polytheists and it probably is justifiable to refer to the family and perhaps part of the aristocracy of Corinth as "pagan." Menander, the father of Aristophanes, was a sponsor of the Isthmian games in the first half of the fourth century (*Or.* 14.5):

> This man's father was Menander, foremost among the Korinthians, dear to Hekate and Poseidon, having sailed to Aegina for rite of the former, and going to the Isthmus for the celebrations of the latter; in the island he was the leader of the procession, in the peninsula he paid from the position of the local senate, although a member of the imperial senate.

Menander held an exemption from liturgies (not magistracies) by reason of his membership in the imperial senate, but nevertheless chose to contribute "from the position of the local senate." Hosting the Isthmian games was, therefore, a liturgy, and it was evidently a liturgy held by members of the Korinthian *boulé*. The voluntarily adoption of a liturgy by those who were already liable was praiseworthy (especially in an age when many struggled to avoid liturgies) but not uncommon. Menander, however, assumed the liturgy despite his immunity.[31] His beneficent and devout action was, therefore, certain of note. Libanios uses this point to emphasize the piety and civic-mindedness of Menander.[32]

---

[27] All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are the author's own.

[28] *Or.* 14.66. Cf. *Or.* 16.16 and *Ep.* 1264 for Aristophanes' boldness.

[29] *Or.* 14.42-3. Cf. *Or.* 14.65 where Aristophanes is praised for not betraying "paganism" as George of Cappadocia apparently encouraged many to do.

[30] *Or.* 14.7.

[31] But see Downey (1939). Cf. Libanios, *Ep.* 1399 (11.441.15), J. Chrysostom, *De Animo Sermo* 3.4 (*PG* 54.658).

[32] Norman (1969) 105 translates the final clause as "but on the mainland he was a lesser contributor, being enrolled as a member of the supreme senate." His interpretation (104n.c) is problematic and self-contradictory. The opposition, in Norman's interpretation, is between the *principales* of the city and the lesser curiales. The point is not Menander's status in Corinth, but rather that he has undertaken a liturgy even though immune. On voluntarily assuming liturgies see Leibeschuetz (1972) 148-9. Menander's exact status is uncertain. Libanios continues (*Or.* 14.6) to state that ὅτε δὴ καὶ πατὴρ ἐγένετο τοῦτον γεννήσας, οὕτως ἦν φιλόπολις ὥστε διαπράττεται τῆς οἴκοι βουλῆς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ῾Ρωμαίων. This apparently means that Menander choose to remain a member of the local senate rather than becoming a member of the Roman senate. But this directly contradicts Libanios' statement immediately before that Menander was a member of the Imperial Senate. If we interpret 14.6

Aristophanes' uncles, Hierios and Diogenes, were both philosophers. Libanios remarks that were the uncles alive, they would be among Julian's philosophical entourage.[33] Even allowing for rhetorical exaggeration, such a note emphasizes the fame of these Korinthian philosophers. Moreover, to have been suitable for Julian's philosophic taste, they must have been Neoplatonic philosophers. Given this information it seems that Aristophanes and family were not only "pagans," but Neoplatonics.

The cases of Parnasios, Aristophanes and Menander reveal that some of the aristocracy of Corinth were quite wealthy, important, and active on the Imperial level. Aristophanes found himself embroiled in a conflict, based on some marriage alliance, with the powerful Eugenios. Parnasios acquired the important and extremely prestigious (as well as lucrative) post of Prefect of Egypt. Corinth was no backwater; its members were involved at the highest levels of the Imperial government. Menander, his brothers-in-law and his son were all active and vocal polytheists with strong connections to Neoplatonic philosophers and Libanios. This family may, in fact, represent a "pagan" aristocracy at Corinth.[34] But the evidence is far too limited to say anything about the size of this "pagan" aristocracy or the role they played in the religious life in Corinth. Given the vocalness of Aristophanes in other situations, however, it is hard to imagine he was not actively fighting for the polytheists of Corinth in the late fourth century, the same time that the tem-

---

to mean that Menander was a member of both the local and Imperial senate, as *PLRE* (Menander 3) does, the problem is solved. Such an interpretation seems to force the Greek, however. The status of Menander cannot be determined from the evidence of this self-contradictory passage.

[33] *Or.* 14.32. Vollgraf (1945) 21 proposes that the Diogenes of Julian, *Ep.*28 is none other than the uncle of Aristophanes, and Hierios is the student of Iamblichus and teacher of Maximos. He remarks, "Il serait curieux qu'il y eut eu, parmi les philosophes que connaissait Julien, non seulement deux Diogene, mais encore deux Hierios." Diogenes of Corinth was dead by 362 (Libanios, *Or.* 14.32) when this letter was composed, so the reference cannot be to him. The connection of Hierios to Iamblichus and Maximos is tenuous and based only on a list of names (Ammonios *In Anal. Prior* I.1.24b=*CAG* 4.6.31), cf. *PLRE* I (Hierius I) 430. Vanderspoel (1987) argues that Hierios is the philosopher of Sikyon who consulted the oracle at Delphi about Themistios (*Or.* 23.295a-296b). Vanderspoel contends that Hierios did not disagree with Aristotle because he is not catalogued among those so doing. Themistios was, of course, Aristotelian; Maximos, who was not, was preferred by Julian. Vanderspoel reasons that since Hierios was not among those listed as anti-Aristotelian, he must have been Aristotelian and thus a natural friend and admirer of Themistios, and a likely candidate for the consultant of the oracle. This supposition will not work, for Libanios pointedly remarked that Diogenes and Hierios would have been with Maximos in Julian's philosophical entourage. If we adopt Vanderspoel's (and Themistios') categorizations of Aristotelian and anti-Aristotelian, then Hierios must be anti-Aristotelian. While our Hierios may be the student of Iamblichos and teacher of Maximos, the identification is far from sure.

[34] The idea of a 4th century "pagan aristocracy" has been noted, and perhaps overemphasized in earlier studies of this period, especially in the west and the Roman Senate. See Bloch (1945), Matthews (1973), Nistler (1910), Robinson (1915). It may also be of significance that Julian's new proconsul of Achaia in 362 (the date of *Or.*14), was Praetextatus, a close friend and co-religionist of the emperor.

ples were suffering. Aristophanes had a son; we do not know if he carried on the traditions of this family.[35]

The physical evidence from Corinth is far more abundant and ultimately useful than the smattering of references discussed above. What we know of the economics of late antique Corinth has been discussed in the previous chapter. As the study of ceramics continues, much more will be known, but now is not the time to speculate.[36] Over one hundred years of excavation in and around the Roman forum of Corinth ensure, however that we know a great deal about late antique city-planning and monumentalization in Corinth, especially in the city center.

Obviously, a complete description of late-antique Corinth cannot be undertaken here. An examination of certain aspects of the city will, however, serve not only to demonstrate my point, but also as preparation for following chapters. Corinth seems to have prospered during the third century, and suffered little if any from barbarian invasions. It is certain that the city remained heavily monumentalized in this period, and their may have even been some important monumental construction.[37] This stability carried over into the fourth century, with demonstrative vigor. Problems arose, however, in the last half of the fourth century with a series of seismic (and perhaps other) calamities. These destructive episodes are, ironically, a boon to the historian and archaeologist. The severe damage, while not literally destroying the town, served to "wipe the slate clean." The subsequent repairs reveal what monuments were consider important, and new construction schemes illuminate the immediate interests of those concerned.

A detailed account of late fourth century seismic damage in Corinth is called for, not only because the evidence has been moderately confused and misused in discussions of late antique Greece, but also to emphasize the vitality exhibit by the city in her recovery.[38] Environmental determinism is not being argued here, however, nor do I intentionally slight other events of this period, known and unknown. Earthquakes, however, bring immediate and tangible results, visible in the archaeological record.[39]

At the same time as Corinth seems to have been devastated by earthquakes, Alaric invaded Greece. The problem of Alaric's alleged attacks upon the cities of Greece is a difficult one and I do not wish to address it here. While the evidence seems, in my opinion, to point to seismic activity, damage by Alaric cannot be ruled out. I reject such an interpretation largely out of a belief that, despite contemporary propaganda to the contrary, Alaric would not have found it profitable nor even enjoyable to take time to destroy temples and other large structures. Burning and pillaging seem to me to be symptomatic of barbarian raids, not systematic destruction.[40] Ultimately attributions of destruction to Alaric, earthquakes or other causes makes little difference to the subject of this work; the main point is that the destruction is extensive, and Corinth recovers, in a new form, very well.

---

[35] *Or.* 14.68.

[36] Slane (1990) for the most recent publication.

[37] Scranton (1957) 3-4, Ridgeway (1981) 443-8

[38] Rothaus (1993). For sixth century earthquakes see Bon (1952) 15, Scranton (1957) 7-8.

[39] See Rothaus (1996a) for an earlier publication of some of this information. Because of its importance, it is repeated and expanded here.

Literary evidence records three earthquakes that may have struck the Peloponnesos in late antiquity. The sources vary in value and reliability, however, and their reports of earthquakes can never be accepted uncritically or at face value. Ammianus Marcellinus (26.10.17-18) reports that an earthquake and *tsunami* struck the eastern Mediterranean on 21 July 365. He supports this by describing a ship he personally viewed in Methone that had been thrown almost two miles inland. There is no reason to doubt the general veracity of Ammianus' report, even if some details are questionable. It must not be assumed, however, that an earthquake causing damage in some or even much of the Peloponnesos also struck the Korinthia. Short and numerous fault lines ensure that really large earthquakes cannot occur in Greece, and the geographical area directly affected by a given seismic event in this part of the Mediterranean is quite limited.[41] Ammianus does not specifically mention Corinth in his account of seismic activity near Methone, and there can be no certainty that Corinth was among the suffering regions.

Libanios, in his funeral oration for Julian, reports that shortly after Julian's death in 363 all of Greece was devastated by an earthquake "except for one city." Libanios certainly is using a rhetorical *topos* here, and there is no reason to accept his account at face value, although one may wish to join his reference to Ammianus' account of the earthquake in 365.

Zosimos (4.18), our third source, states that an earthquake struck all of Greece except Athens shortly after the death of Valentinian I in 375. It seems, however, that Zosimos (or more probably Eunapios, his source) has exaggerated or perhaps even fabricated this earthquake as a rhetorical flourish. Late-antique authors liked to associate natural disasters with the passing of emperors. Eunapios may have desired just such an event to correspond to the death of Valentinian, and he may not have seen it amiss to create or move an earthquake to accompany this event.

It seems likely that Eunapios has picked up this *topos*, and perhaps even his account of the 375 earthquake from Libanios; the parallel is too strong to be coincidence. Eunapios takes the *topos* one step further than Libanios, however, and instead of saying "all of Greece except one city," he says "all of Greece except Athens." Eunapios often singles out Athens as a city especially beloved by the gods, and his exclusion of this favored "pagan" city from those suffering damage is closely paralleled by his report that only

---

[40] Bon (1952) 14, Finley (1922) 476. Zosimos 5.6-7 is the key ancient source. On Alaric in Corinth see especially Gregory (1979) 268-70 (who dates the late Roman wall of Corinth after Alaric), Dengate (1981) 149-50, Williams (1982) 118, Williams (1983) 23-4, Williams (1986) 164.

[41] Ambraseys (1991).

Athens was spared from Alaric; a report that excavations in the Athenian agora seem to indicate is false.[42] Eunapios exaggerates the extent of the earthquake in order to emphasize the blessed position of Athens in the eyes of the gods. To assume from Zosimos' problematic account of the 375 earthquake that Corinth suffered at this date is methodologically unsound. It seems more likely that Eunapios is engaging in a literary *topos*, and he may, in fact, have absconded the earthquake of 365 for rhetorical purposes. The literary evidence for an earthquake in 375, if not dismissable, is extremely unreliable.

Finally, two late sources mention fourth century earthquakes. Marcellinus Comes (*MGH Auctores Antiquissimus* p.64) mentions an earthquake in 395 that "shook the whole world," and Glykas (ed. Bonn p.478) mentions a "universal earthquake" that struck in 395 or 396. These accounts are so vague, however, that they are difficult to evaluate. The possibility of a 395 or 396 earthquake in Corinth is left open, but it is certainly not demonstrated.

In the end, the literary evidence really does not matter much. Common sense and practical experience tells us that the area along the Korinthian gulf is prone to seismic activity. Unreliable literary evidence can do nothing more than confirm what we already do, and it is a severe methodological fallacy to link the archaeological record directly to these rather useless dates.

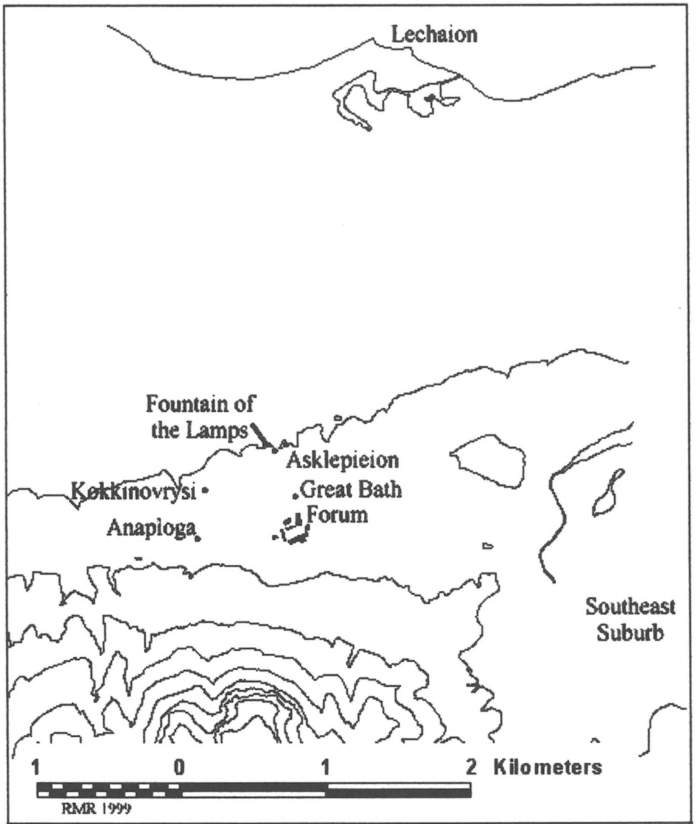
Earthquake damage can, however, leave telltale evidence in the archaeological record, and this evidence must be the deciding factor in determining the effect of earthquakes in Corinth. This is not an easy task, however. The reports of earthquakes by Ammianus and Zosimos were noted early in the twentieth century by excavators at Corinth. Unfortunately, it became the tendency to assign any damage that could be roughly dated to the late fourth century to one or both of these reputed seismic "events," with 375 being the preferred date.[43] A mention of earthquake damage in the Corinth publications cannot, therefore, be accepted uncritically. Earthquake damage must be identified on the basis of the archaeological record alone, and not the predisposed interpretation thereof. General damage from unknown causes may be associated with earthquakes, as may repairs, but only after such earthquakes have been firmly established.

---

[42] Frantz (1988) 53-6. One wonders, of course, whether this destruction need be attributed to Alaric. Athens too might have suffered in this period of high seismic activity.

[43] See Broneer (1935) 58n.1 from which many subsequent inferences have been drawn. Cf. Trombley (1993) 304 for "the great earthquake of 375 which struck not only the Balkan peninsula, but Crete, the Peloponnese and central Greece in particular." Trombley's uncritical acceptance and impossible scenario typifies recent scholarly approaches to late-antique earthquakes (it should be noted, however, that the historicity of the event is only peripheral to his primary point).

Bath on the Lechaion Road, the West Shops, and the Sanctuary of Isis at Kenchreai (Plans 1 and 2). The Julian Basilica shows the clearest evidence of earthquake damage. The excavators report that the walls of this structure fell from the east to the west, and that material from the upper floor collapsed into the lower. Debris accumulated in this structure to a depth of 0.40 meters, and coins in this debris indicate that the collapse of this structure occurred probably not around 395. There is little doubt that this damage resulted from an earthquake.[44]


Lechaion
Fountain of the Lamps
Asklepieion
Great Bath
Forum
Kokkinovrysi
Anaploga
Southeast Suburb
1 0 1 2 Kilometers
RMR 1999

Plan 2: Corinth and Environs.

The Great Bath on the Lechaion Road likewise suffered catastrophic damage that should be attributed to an earthquake or earthquakes. At some point in the late fourth century, the marble blocks of the façade fell from the structure. An attempt to repair the structure was made, but soon abandoned.

---

[44] Weinberg (1960) 52, 57

Room I of this structure also suffered a calamity at some point prior to 383, necessitating the remodeling of the room and the filling of the pool therein. Massive destruction is also evident in Room 3, the pool of which was partially filled in and floored over. The calamity or calamities that befell this structure cannot be precisely dated, but the magnitude of the damage make seismic activity a probable culprit.[45]

The West Shops also show evidence for damage that probably should be attributed to earthquakes. At some point, presumably but not certainly the late fourth century, two of the capitals in this structure fell and broke. They subsequently were clamped together and restored in place. It seems likely that the capitals were dislodged by an earthquake.[46] Damage in the South Shops should also be mentioned at this point. The stratigraphy in this area is unclear, but pieces of marble revetment and seats from a latrine were found amidst destruction debris that had collapsed into the drain. Numismatic evidence gives a *terminus post quem* of 379-395 for this destruction. The original excavator attributed this wreckage to Alaric, but it seems unlikely that Alaric would have gone to the trouble of demolishing a latrine, if he even attacked Corinth. The damage may very well have resulted from an earthquake, and if this is the case, we have evidence for an earthquake later than 379-395.[47]

The so-called sanctuary of Isis at Kenchreai, one of the ports of Corinth, clearly was destroyed by seismic activity. The structure, built on a promontory, collapsed and was submerged, preventing any attempts at repair.[48] Ceramic material (most notable a Peloponnesian version of Yassi-Ada II amphorae) has provided a date near 400 for this seismic event.[49] One may also want to associate uplift at Lechaion, the other harbor of Corinth, with late fourth-century earthquakes.[50]

Given the evidence from these structures it is probable that at least two earthquakes struck Corinth in the late fourth century. The archaeological record is not precise enough to establish exact dates for the seismic events. The evidence from the Great Bath indicates a date prior to 383; the evidence from Kenchreai and perhaps the latrines points to another event closer to 400. At least two discrete, damaging seismic events in the fourth century.

The epigraphic evidence, unfortunately, fails to clarify the matter. Two inscriptions indicate repairs undertaken at the behest of Valentinian I who died in 375.[51] One of these inscriptions was found at the entrance façade to the South Basilica, the other at the West Shops, where most probably there was earthquake damage. If we associate these Imperial sponsored repairs with the earthquake damage, than the repairs must be for damage resulting from an earthquake dating before 375. A precise date cannot be determined, but this cannot be evidence for an earthquake in 375. Eunapios, our only source for the 375 earthquake, states that the event occurred after Valentinian's death; this certainly would have hampered his ability to sponsor repairs. Eunapios' unreliable report and the epigraphic evidence do not support the 375 earthquake so often referred to in the Corinth publications; the date bears no more weight than any other in the last quarter of the fourth century, and should receive far less attention.

---

[45] Biers (1985) 4, 31-2, 37, 42, 48, 50, 62
[46] Williams (1990) 335-6
[47] Broneer (1958) 153
[48] Scranton (1978) 75-6, Hohlfelder (1976) 225-6
[49] Rothaus (1993a).
[50] Stiros (1995).
[51] Kent (1966) nos. 504 and 505

Other examples of destruction from earthquakes in the late fourth century can be tentatively identified. It must be emphasized, however, that only the examples already given clearly indicate damage by earthquake. Other damage can be associated with the earthquakes, but the relationship is not certain. Serious damage that can be dated no more precisely than the late fourth century is evident at the West Shops, the South Basilica, the Odeion, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, the Southwest Forum, Temple Hill, East of the Theater, the Central Shops, the Gymnasium Area and the Theater. There is also damage at the North Market, South Basilica, Mosaic House, and the Anaploga Villa that seems to be late enough in the fourth century that we may want to associate it with seismic activity near 400.[52]

Rather than forcing the evidence to produce precise dates and demanding more from the literary records than they are able to give, it seems prudent to assert merely that there were multiple earthquakes between c. 365-400. Any attempt to identify discrete seismic events spaced by only thirty or forty years approaches the limits of archaeological science, and may cloud the larger issues. This was a period of high seismic activity in the Mediterranean, and it is safe to presume multiple occurrences of seismic disruptions in the last 40 years or so of the century.[53] What is clear, despite questions of precise chronology and cause, is that Corinth was heavily damaged in the late fourth century.

The recreation of the city center after the problematic late fourth century is of particular note, for it reveals the continued vitality and importance of the civic center of the city. Certainly the nature of the city in the early fifth century was different from that of the second and third centuries. Some structures, most notably the temples fade in importance, and other public buildings, such as the Early Christian basilicas take a place of preeminence. These two types of buildings will be discussed later. Neverthe-

[52] West Shops: Scranton (1951) 131, Williams (1974) 9. South Basilica: Weinberg (1960) 76. Odeion: Broneer (1936) 147. Demeter And Kore: Slane (1991) 5n.15, Pemberton (1989) 191, Stroud (1965) 1-24, Bookidis (1972) 284. Southwest Forum: Williams (1975) 14, Williams (1976) 132-3, Williams (1977) 62-3. Temple Hill: Robinson (1976) 220. East Of Theater: Williams (1983) 23-4, Williams (1984) 101. Central Shops: Broneer (1935) 57. Gymnasium: Wiseman (1970), Wiseman (1972). Theater: Shear (1926) 454, Stillwell (1952) 140, Williams (1987) 31. North Market: Scranton (1951) 192. Mosaic House: Weinberg (1960) 76. Anaploga Villa: Miller (1972) 333n.6.

[53] Pirazzoli (1991).

less, the forum of Corinth also maintained its importance and, in fact, was remonumentalized in the late fourth or more probably early fifth century.

Previously the Forum at Corinth had been clearly divided into an upper and lower area by the line of Central Shops running down the center axis of the forum (Plan 3). Access between the two levels was found only at the ends of the Forum and by the Bema. This strong division defined the visual appearance of the forum and the traffic flow, and thus was one of its defining features. These Central Shops, however, were heavily damaged in the late fourth century, perhaps by seismic activity.

A new plan for the Forum was developed. The ruined Central Shops were razed and in their place a staircase, running the length of the Forum, was installed[54] (Plan 4). The "Dionysion" and the Circular monument at either end of the Forum were, however, left intact, and the Bema was converted into a fountain house. This staircase, rather than dividing the forum, provided greater access and open space than was previously to be found in the Forum.[55] This redesign of the Forum evidences far more than a nostalgia or uncritical restoration of old buildings. The Central Shops were not repaired, but demolished and replaced in a manner that drastically redefined the space of the forum. Likewise, the open Forum does not display any progression towards a disunified "medieval" city plan. This new plan for the Forum can be nothing less than a reconsideration of the needs of the civic center, and planning to meet these needs. Such planned monumentalization reveals the active concern of civic and perhaps imperial authorities, and would have been neither needed nor desirable if Corinth was not still functioning, at least in part, as a "traditional" city.[56] The forum serves not only its physical function as civic center, but also as a symbol (then and now) of the continuing vivacity of civic institutions.[57]

The Central Staircase is not the only structure from this period of the early fifth century, and its minimalist approach can not be attributed to a lack of financial resources. The general economic evidence inveighs against such a consideration, and the other buildings from this era display sufficient opulence to rule against any sort of general impoverishment. There is some evidence, although it is not certain, that at approximately the same time as the Central Staircase was installed, the Captives Façade (the

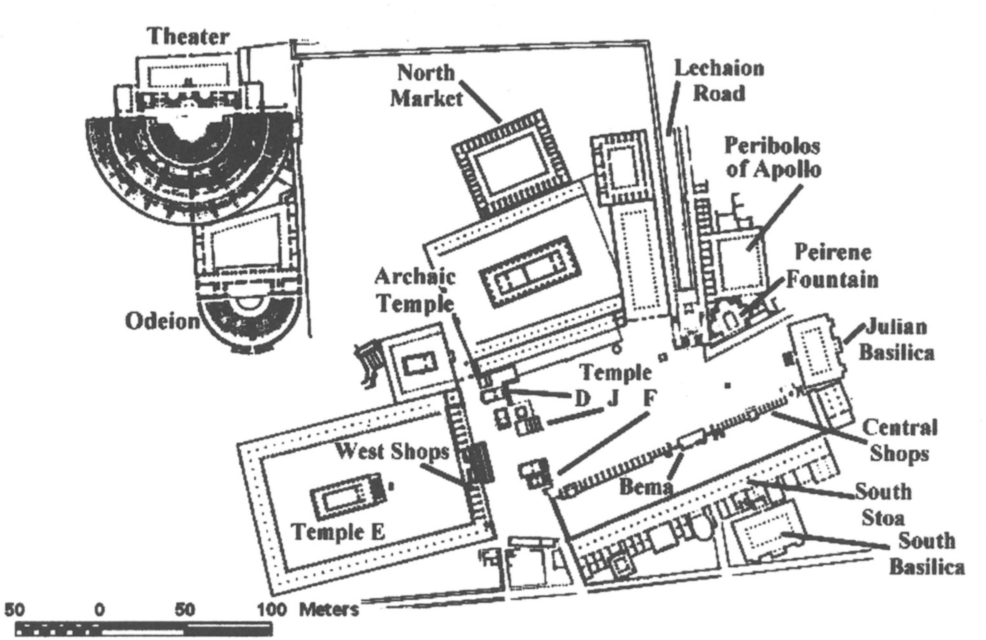
---

[54] Scranton (1951) 117, Scranton (1957) 12-14.

[55] The Circular monument probably was a tall shaft supporting a statue or tripod, Scranton (1951) 79, 83, 127. The "Dionysian" is an enigmatic structure that may have been a fountain house at one point. There may have been an associated altar, but the evidence is unclear. See Scranton (1951) 125-6.

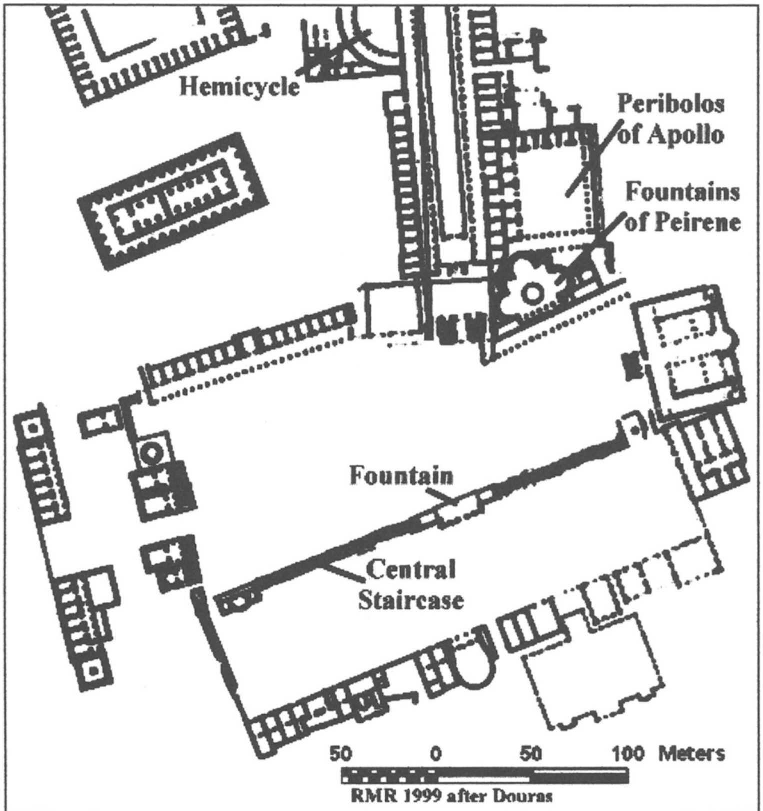
[56] There is, of course, a difference between economic motivations and the motivations of the urban and imperial aristocracy, but the evidence here is insufficient to differentiate. Cf. Skinner (1976), esp. 275-6. Skinner's work on the 10th century Chinese city, and the differing levels of Imperial and regional control provides interesting parallels to the period of late antiquity.

[57] See Gottdeiner (1986) 12-13 for this concept of urban semiotics; cf. Ledrut (1986) 119-20. The discussion of the semiotics of Corinth is by nature, oversimplified.


Theater
North Market
Lechaion Road
Peribolos of Apollo
Peirene Fountain
Julian Basilica
Archaic Temple
Odeion
Temple
D J F
Central Shops
West Shops
Bema
South Stoa
South Basilica
Temple E
50 0 50 100 Meters

RMR 1999 after Williams

Plan 3: Early Roman Corinth.


Hemicycle
Peribolos of Apollo
Fountains of Peirene
Fountain
Central Staircase
50 0 50 100 Meters
RMR 1999 after Douras

Plan 4: Late Roman Corinth.

monumental gateway and impressive sculptural display joining the Forum with the Lechaion road), and perhaps the Propylaia were rebuilt. The façade may have been damaged and then reconstructed in this period.[58]

Several structures along the Lechaion Road were modified or constructed in this period. Perhaps the most enigmatic of these is a semicircular building on the west side of the Lechaion road aptly called the Hemicycle. This building, constructed with reused material, replaced several rectangular shops; its dramatically new design marks it as an important and original building. While not precisely datable, it seems likely that its construction comes shortly after the late fourth-century earthquakes, probably in the early fifth century. Behind the Hemicycle, to the west, is a little understood complex with a small open court. A large red sigma table, dating to the fifth or sixth century, was found in the remains of this complex.[59] Opposite the Hemicycle there were, among other buildings, a bath and a latrine that functioned at the very least through the fifth century and conceivably much later. Another bath in the South Stoa functioned into the sixth century as did the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road.[60]

The fountain of Peirene was remodeled in the early sixth century. Its function as a monumental façade to and collecting area for the spring remained intact. A circular pool was substituted for the rectangular basin of the Roman period and a new colonnaded façade was installed. The renovation of Peirene not only further emphasizes the continued life of the Forum, it demonstrates a prosperity and interest in monumental architecture in the Forum of sixth-century Corinth.[61]

The above evidence should make it abundantly clear that the Forum of Corinth survived and functioned through the sixth century. There were, of course, changes and many structures seem to have fallen into disuse. Nevertheless, the conception of a unified and open central place seems to have remained current and efforts were made to insure the continued monumentalization of the Forum. There can be little doubt that the Forum was the marketplace of late-antique Corinth. That the Forum continued to be an administrative center is demonstrated by the discovery of several late Roman statues. The west end of the Forum, dominated by Temple E, was always the focal point of the Roman Forum. This was no different in the late Roman period when the West Terrace was remodeled, perhaps in the fifth century. Here were found late Roman statues, all of which date to the late fifth and sixth centuries. These statues, the heads of which are missing, almost certainly represent Imperial officials, probably Emperors or provincial governors.[62] Their position on the West Terrace demonstrates that the Forum continued as the administrative center of the city and that desire for monumentalization and classical displays continued into the sixth century. The transition from the fourth to fifth century, although marked by destruction, was one of significant continuity in the Forum. The Forum of Corinth retained its classical form and function, albeit in a slightly modified form, through the sixth century.

---

[58] Stillwell (1941) 88, Scranton (1957) 14.

[59] Scranton (1957) 14-16 and bibliography cited there.

[60] Biers (1985).

[61] Scranton (1957) 22-3.

[62] Scranton (1957) 24-5, Johnson (1931) 150-54.

One would not want to assume, however, total continuity, or extend this late antique civic use of the forum beyond the end of the sixth century, when graves start to appear in great numbers in the area.[63] Signs of change are evident, however, before the late sixth century. In the fifth century, the courtyard of the bath opposite the Hemicycle was converted into a residential building that seems to have included a small private bathing room. This dwelling remained in use for an extended period of time. It was remodeled in the seventh century, continued in use for an indeterminable amount of time, and was succeeded by another house of the ninth or tenth century.[64] This house north of the Peribolos of Apollo is of extreme importance and may indicate continuity and perhaps prosperity into and through the seventh century. The Peribolos of Apollo itself underwent extensive modification at around the same period, perhaps in the sixth century. The nature of these modifications is unclear, but this structure may also be residential.[65] More apropos to our discussion is the introduction of residential structures so close to the Forum. While I argue strongly that the Forum remained intact and functioned as the monumental center of the city through the sixth century, these dwellings perhaps note a changing nature of the Forum as well. The introduction of residences so close to the Forum may foreshadow a changing pattern of urbanization and conception of civic space.[66]

The changing characteristic of city and civic life in late antique Corinth is also evidenced by the apparent growth of villas in the region. Villas of the late Roman period are, of course, worthy of special attention.[67] A standard thesis of late Roman history, propounded by Rostovtzeff and, to a lesser degree, A.H.M. Jones, and based largely on evidence from the west, is that affluent landowners removed themselves from the cities and established independent agricultural villas resembling principalities. It has been argued that with the removal of this wealthy stratum, the cities went into a downward spiral from which they could not recover.[68] This scenario does not hold true for the Korinthia. Villas did indeed flourish in the late Roman period. These villas, however, clustered near and presumably depended upon the city. There is no substantial evidence in the Korinthia for self-sufficient villas.

---

[63] See Ivison (1996). Ivison (104) sees the end of the fifth century as the terminus of the forum as a public place. This date is too early. Ivison does not consider the sixth century renovation of the fountain of Pierene in his model, and dismisses the Imperial statues too lightly; the statues may very well have been *in situ* where they fell, and at the very least probably were not brought from any great distane only to be discarded. Likewise, the coins of Anastasius (491-518) in debris in the forum cited by Ivison (104) provides a *terminus post quem*, not a depositional date (and not a very good *terminus*; coins of Anastasius are the most common of all the fifth and sixth century coinage found in Corinth). Perhaps most importantly, Ivison does not document any burials in this region until the middle of the sixth century, at best. Similarly I do not see the evidence as indicating a sudden transformation and shift of the city center, but rather a process beginning in the fifth century, peaking in the middle or late sixth century, and having an unknown result sometime there after. Finally, without wishing to impunge Dr. Ivison, the material dating these graves has never been published. Given the relative difficulty of dating and differentiating late sixth and early seventh century ceramics, a publication of the evidence is necessary before the argument can be further evaluated.

[64] Scranton (1957) 16-21.

[65] Scranton (1957) 21-22.

[66] Cf. Williams (1974) 9 for encroachment by buildings, perhaps private, at the west end of the Forum in late fourth and early fifth century.

[67] Cf. Gregory (1984) 272. See Rothaus (1994) for a slightly fuller discussion of the villas.

No villa has ever been fully excavated, studied, or published from the Korinthia. In fact, it is difficult even to decide what constitutes a villa. The trend among archaeologists working in the Korinthia has been to call any private residence with mosaics a villa. Rapp and Aschenbrenner, when confronted with villas in Nichoria, chose to use criteria of size, location and the presence of marble and a bath rather than to attempt to answer problems of definition.[69] I am not prepared to offer a better solution at this point. For purposes here I have defined a villa as a large residential complex evidencing substantial wealth and located in a suitably comfortable position. There can be no question that only a handful of the villas in the Korinthia has been discovered. Excavation has focused on the Forum, and as noted above, there has been no systematic survey of the region. Thus an absence of villas in a given area cannot be conclusive, and all discussion here may need to be modified as work progresses.

The late Roman villas of the Korinthia were all poised to make the best available use of agricultural land (Plans 2 and 12). In fact, it is almost certain that the wealth of these villas was dependent in whole or in part upon agriculture. Only one villa, however, is a candidate for a self-sufficient unit. As noted by Demetrios Pallas more than thirty years ago, the labels urban villa and rural villa are inapplicable in the Korinthia.[70] The placement of the villas was moderated by both agricultural concerns and a desire to remain close to civic centers.

Two villas lay close to and probably within the western city wall. The villa at Kokkinovrysi, sometimes known as the Shear villa, has been partially excavated, but poorly published.[71] Five rooms paved with reused Greek mosaics were uncovered, as was an impluvium. Just north of the excavated portion of this villa, a rescue excavation uncovered a large oil press and a holding-tank, perhaps for olive oil.[72] The villa may have been built in the first century and functioned through the early fifth century and perhaps later. The Kokkinovrysi villa, which clearly had an agricultural component, was situated along the boundary between the flat arable land and the coastal plain just northwest of the city. The inhabitants would have had found easy access both to the most fertile land of the region and the amenities of the civic center. This villa is located so close to the center of the city that it might seem to be a *domus* or urban villa, were its agricultural nature not defined by the archaeological finds.

---

[68] Rostovtzeff (1957) 530, Jones (1964) 788. See Leveau (1983) for an interesting discussion of the villa as a phenomenon of cultural definition. Engels (1990) 182-3 mentions villas in Corinth.

[69] Rapp and Aschenbrenner (1978) 99.

[70] Pallas (1955) 216.

[71] Shear (1925) 381-97, (1930). See Plans 2 and 12 for site locations.

[72] *AD* 18 (1963) B1 77.

A villa with a similar history has been partially excavated at Anaploga, slightly south of the Kokkinovrysi villa.[73] An atrium, ten rooms and a large dining room have been excavated. The villa, was built in the early first century, remodeled in the third and perhaps fourth century and abandoned in the fifth century or perhaps later. This villa sat on the boundary of flat arable land and the transitional arable land of the slopes of Acrocorinth. The road from Corinth to Phlius and Kleonai probably ran near this villa. The unpublished state of this villa, which has since been built over by a modern *villa urbana,* does not allow any inquiry about agricultural production or storage. The position of the villa, however, allowed easy access to the transitional arable land west of Corinth and the fertile region of the Longopotamos River. Like the Kokkinovrysi villa, it was only a few minutes away from the civic center. As there is no evidence of agricultural production, this may be merely a lavish residence in the suburbs of Corinth. Given the example of the Kokkinovrysi villa, however, we cannot rule out an agricultural component to this complex.

Northeast of Corinth a villa was excavated in the region known as "Pano Maghoula."[74] The complex had a courtyard, open-air cistern, olive press, and bath. Initially constructed in the third century, the villa seems to have functioned into the seventh century. This agricultural villa was located near the Leukos River on the border between the coastal plain and the flat arable land of the Isthmus. In such a position it was close to some of the richest land available in Greece, and yet was only a thirty to fourty-five minute walk from the city of Corinth.

Just north of Kenchreai, T.E. Gregory conducted an intensive survey at the site of Akra Sophia and discovered the remains of a substantial building.[75] Fine ware and mosaic tesserae indicate the wealth of this establishment, which flourished in the fifth through seventh centuries and may have included a bath. This structure, probably a villa, was located on an adequate harbor and at the border of the transitional arable land along the Saronic and the flat arable land of the Isthmus. Interpretation of this villa is difficult without excavation data, but its position next to good arable land without actually intruding upon it hints at an agricultural nature. The small harbor may also have been an economic base of this complex.

---

[73] Miller (1972) 332-56, Hellenkemper-Salicis (1986) 278.

[74] Pallas (1955) 201-16.

[75] Gregory (1985) 411-28.

The structure initially identified as an Aphrodision at Kenchreai is a classic example of a villa structure with a large colonnaded court, and nymphaeum.[76] The villa was constructed in the early third century, renovated in the early fifth century and abandoned perhaps at the end of the sixth century. Like the Akra Sophia structure, it was located on the border between the transitional arable land along the Saronic and the flat arable land of the Isthmus. Additionally it allowed easy access to the large stretch of transitional arable land just south and was located at one of the two ports of Corinth. A major road ran from Corinth to Kenchreai, and the journey can be made in two hours by foot. One should also remember that Kenchreai was a large port and virtually all the amenities available in Corinth must have been available there. In this way the Kenchreai villa is much like the Kokkinovrysi and Anaploga villas: perched between agricultural land and the civic center.

South of Corinth, near the ambiguous border between Kleonai and Corinth, in the region called Varelá near Aghios Vasilios, is a large Roman villa.[77] This structure contains a bath, numerous storage rooms and an olive press. The Varelá villa was located along a hillside that lies in the midst of a strip of flat arable land dotted with small hills. The villa was in use from the early fourth century, repaired in the middle sixth-century and continued in use into the Byzantine period. The Varelá villa is the only real candidate for an independent and self-sufficient entity. Almost a full-day walk from Corinth, it could not have been heavily tied to that city for its everyday needs. The villa may, however, have lain close to Roman Kleonai. The location of another late Roman villa, not too far south near Dervenaki, certainly would suggest a nearby civic center.[78]

Several other sites may represent villas, but the evidence is unclear. Wiseman has identified, without excavation, a peristyle court or colonnaded porch in the Southeast Suburb. The ceramic scatter in general terminates at the third century, but later sherds have been found. As this area is beyond the outer boundary of the city and is just c. 1.5 km. outside the city wall it seems unlikely that the peristyle is a civic structure, and thus it may be a villa. Southwest of the Mt. Penteskouphi in the Bayevi area a large structure has been noted that may represent a villa. Numerous Roman sherds were found in association with this structure. A large Roman millstone at Aetopetra may be associated with this villa or may represent another villa. Farther south along the Longopotamos river valley a heavy concentration of sherds was found at Spathovouni. While this may represent a villa site, the identification is far from certain.

---

[76] Scranton (1978), 79-90. See Rothaus (1993) for the re-identification of the structure.

[77] *AD* 39 (1984) B1 109-10.

[78] *AD* 27 (1972) B1 212-15.

The villas of the Korinthia were not randomly scattered in the arable regions. Rather, the efficient utilization of the available agricultural land and proximity to the city were priorities in the location of villas. The villas gravitated towards the border of the most fertile land near to them. In such positions, they did not use any of the more fertile land for inhabitation, but placed themselves as close as possible to the fertile regions to maximize their ability to work these regions. The agricultural nature of the villas implied by their position is confirmed in three cases by the archaeological finds. The desire to effectively utilize agricultural space was, however, tempered by a desire to remain within the vicinity of the city or a large civic center. While the villas were agricultural in intent and sometimes in function, there was a marked preference among villa holders to be close to or even within a civic center.

The villas were neither rural nor urban. While agricultural in nature, they showed a strong tendency to stay close to an urban center. This proximity seems to have been more than a simple desire to be within transportation distance of the market. The villas near Kenchreai and Corinth are in much closer proximity. This positioning indicates, it would seem, not only the perhaps expected economic tie to the city, but a political and social tie as well. The villa "inhabitants" wanted more than an easy trip--they wanted to be part of the city itself.

Late antiquity was a period of change and Corinth was no exception to this. Although its precise position varied, Corinth remained the first city of the province of Achaia throughout the Roman and Early Byzantine period. The provincial governor retained Corinth as his seat, and for all purposes power rested in him. To Corinth's traditional Imperial importance was added a Metropolitan bishop and a number of large basilicas, that will be discussed in a separate chapter. While the evidence is problematic, there can be little doubt that Corinth underwent a political transformation similar to that in other cities of the Eastern Empire and the bishops increased in influence in power. The local *boulé* assumedly experienced a corresponding decrease in importance.

Corinth, while in the midst of transformation and change maintained many of its classical forms and principles. While political and social change did occur, it was, until the end of the sixth century, well within the standards of the classical world. The new civic plan and social structures of the city, the growth of the villas and the continued exploitation of the agricultural land all are part of the continuum of classical antiquity. Given the rather stable and conservative nature of Korinthian society and the city in this period, we should not be surprised by, but rather expect the continuation of religious practices.

This long discussion of the economy and status of the city has born fruit for the consideration of the nature of Christian and non-Christian cult in late antique Corinth. Continuity with classical antiquity has been demonstrated to have been the norm. The religious activities of the inhabitants evidence, as we would expect, strong continuity as well. Certain strong discontinuities also appear, however, including the abandonment of the "pagan" temples and the construction of the early Christian basilicas. These discontinuities are aberrations that loom large in a period of strong continuity. While the ultimate causes of these aberrations are largely beyond the scope of this book, they represent the crossroads and meeting place for diverse forces, both political and religious. Corinth in late antiquity found itself looking backward and forward simultaneously and it is in this circumstance that "pagan" cult was forced into decline and Christianity emerged as an dominant religion.[79]

---

[79] The evidence will not allow a discussion of Jews in the Korinthia. An impost block inscribed with a menorah was found in the theater and probably dates to the fifth century. Scranton (1957) 25-6, Foerester (1930). Cf. Kaplan (1980) for a fourth century Samaritan amulet found in Corinth.

CHAPTER THREE

BROKEN TEMPLES

The temple was the most visible place of ancient cult ritual. The temple, or in some archaizing cases the altar, was the center, but the entire sanctuary, delineated by a temenos that was often indicated by a physical wall, was liminal. A purified area, the sanctuary served as museum, park and meeting place; its function was not confined to ritual. By studying the temples of Corinth in the late antique period we can come as close as possible to the public, non-Christian religions and cult practices of the city. Because the fate of the temples in late antiquity has been little explored or published, the reader will have to bear with a detailed examination of the archaeological evidence at times. While this may not make for the most exciting reading, it is the backbone of the arguments presented herein.

The rich and varied rituals performed at the temples, with processions, music, song, dance, cleansing water, *abata*, incense, sacrifices, burnt offerings, dining, votives, displays and holy images could serve to facilitate both physically and emotionally the dissolution of the barriers between states of being. The transcendent moment of contact came, perhaps, at the sacrifice, an act that can be viewed as a communal meal shared between gods and men, and an event that was essential to almost all ancient cult practice.[1] The temple was, as Knipe has stated, the "fount of revelation and tradition, . . . generative and true."[2]

In the ancient world, as in the modern, places of liminality were, of course, almost infinitely varied, and one should not forget the less visible (to us), but probably more important household shrines and even the hearth.

---

[1] Weber (1963) 26-7 discusses sacrifice as *communio,* that is a fraternal meal for the god and the sacrificers. MacMullen (1981) 38-40.

[2] See Burkert (1988) 35-36 and Knipe (1988), the quotation is from pg. 133. MacMullen (1981) 18-42 provides useful glimpses, faithful to the evidence. See also Harl (1990) 20-21. Evans (1961) is a complete study of an Egyptian temple in the Greco-Roman period and reveals much about temple ritual and administration; how much was similar between temples in Greece and Egypt cannot be determined at this point, but there seems to be no reason to doubt at least some similarity. Stambaugh (1978) offers a thorough discussion of Roman temples, but he deals only with western structures. It is doubtful that the same emphasis was placed on Roman *lex sacra* in the East as in the West. Stambaugh offers an impressive array of sources dealing with the phenomena being discussed here. On the varied functions of the temple see Stambaugh (1978) 585-88 On the festivals and their often raucous activities see Stambaugh (1978) 576-9.

Primary worship occurred in the household in all periods of antiquity, but this worship remains largely unknown to us. But for "public" worship and the worship of the "Olympian" gods, the center was undeniably the temple. As such a center, the temples were the target of anti-pagan legislation and action. The destruction of a temple or the removal of the cult statues was an attempt to destroy the "pagan" central place, or *axis mundi,* and thus end all such worship.[3] While there seem not to have been physical Christian attacks on the temples in Corinth, the collapse of the temples in combination with changing *mores* must have posed a problem for the non-Christian population.[4] While the physical deterioration of many of these structures is undeniable, this may not represent the realities of ritual performance, and a closer examination is called for. The temples, as we shall see, remained active cult site, even with this radical shift in their economic well-being and physical up-keep.

Interpretation of temple structures in the late antique period have all focused on a paradigm of abandonment and decline. Allison Frantz' discussion of the temples of late-antique Athens has been the basis for most subsequent work.[5] She posits deconsecration of the pagan structures beginning in 435 (*C.Th.* 16.10.25), followed by gradually decreasing worship and eventual abandonment. Only after the temples had ceased to be seriously regarded as cult sites, she argues, were they converted to churches. As the city shifted and new churches were needed, the temples underwent conversion: "So it was by virtue of necessity rather than in token of a victorious faith that the temples of the old dispensation became the province of the new."[6]

---

[3] Harl 1990 (20-21). Burkert (1988) 33 mentions, *pace* Eliade (1959) 20-65, that the temple is not the *axis mundi*, except in the case of Delphi. Eliade's definition (the cosmic tree or pillar that connects heaven and earth) will certainly work for the temple. Eliade cites Horace, *Odes* 3.3, (1959) 35. *Pace* Burkert, Eliade indicated quite clearly that there can be more than one *axis mundi*, citing the Achilpa, a group of hunter-gatherers who carried their *axis mundi* with them. The temple was also the *imago mundi* (Burkert (1988) 57-61) and a place where, through the presence of the gods, the world continued to be resanctified. The suitability of the column as a defining architectural feature for the *axis mundi* should be noted, although the subject cannot be examined further here.

[4] DeWaele (1933) 435-36 hypothesizes a violent destruction of the Asklepieion at Corinth by Christians, stating: "It is a well-known fact that in the last third of the fourth century a current of aggressive violence against heathen worship pervaded Christianity." Even if this were true, there is no evidence that the destruction of the Asklepieion was at Christian hands. Undoubtedly the growth of Christianity played a role in allowing the buildings to be plundered, but this does not mean that the temple was deliberately destroyed by irate Christians. DeWaele (1935) 359 mentions a fifth century B.C. statue (Inv. S-1577), claiming that it was "deliberately mutilated in the fourth century after Christ." There is, however, no evidence for deliberate mutilation, especially given the thorough destruction of the sanctuary. The statue was found in late fourth/early fifth century fill.

[5] See also LeClercq (1924).

[6] Frantz (1965), quotation from p. 205. The only work previous to Frantz's on temples in late antiquity is Deichmann (1939), a still useful catalog. See Gregory (1986b) 233 on the influence of Frantz's work. Saradi-Mendelovici (1990) is also important.

The church at the Asklepieion in Athens weighs against Frantz's argument, as she herself admitted. Frantz dates the destruction of the temple and the building of the church to c. 529, and associates it with the closing of the philosophical schools. Pagan cult was, however, quite capable of surviving independent of these schools.[7] The archaeological evidence is far from clear and no good date can be provided. Regardless of the actual date of the conversion, the mutilated reliefs from the Asklepieion show a vigorous Christian reaction at this sanctuary and indicate a violent encounter and probably violent destruction of the temple.[8] Violence indicates passion, and in this case the passion seemingly arose from viable and visible religious activity. Likewise I would not separate the seventh century conversion of the Parthenon and Hephaisteion from the realm of direct pagan and Christian conflict. The seventh century is not that far removed from the late fifth century conflict at the Asklepieion and the conversions of these temples may very well have been tokens of the "victorious faith."[9]

In sum, Frantz's dates for conversion of the temples into churches seems correct, but the idea that they were "spiritual no-man's land" at the time of the conversion, or even that they were deconsecrated in 435 is doubtful.[10] In fact, we must consider the nature and effects of any deconsecrations. Would a devotee of Asklepios cared if a Christian priest had visited the site and performed a ritual? If he did care, would he have viewed the ritual as efficacious, or merely offensive. Obviously, we do not know, nor should we assume that there is only one answer, but in the end, it seems unlikely that deconsecration would in and of itself be enough to put a stop to ritual activity. The evidence from Athens is unclear, but it indicates at least occasional hostile activity between the pagans and Christians, and an active pagan population through the early sixth century and probably later.

---

[7] Gregory (1986b) 235 offers a succinct rejection of this linkage. Cf. Fowden (1982) for a discussion of the pagan "holy man" as teacher of philosophy. The pagan "holy man" was only one part of "paganism," and his disappearance (or rather suppression) did not mean the dissolution of "paganism."

[8] Spieser (1976) 313 n.14. See Frantz (1965) 195 n.50 for Xyngopoulos, Gregorovius, Travlos all of whom thought that the temple was destroyed by Christians. Gregory (1986b) 237-9 opts for a fifth century church and emphasizes the violent contact between pagans and Christians at this site.

[9] Trombley (1993) 292, 342-344 places the conversion of the temples of Athens in 481-88. He remarks, "There is no particular reason to suppose that a church was not built in or around the Parthenon shortly after 481-484." Trombley reasonably reject Frantz's argument that conversion might have been delayed by fear of demonic powers, but this is only a minor point of her argument. Frantz's meticulous and convincing arguments from archaeological and epigraphical evidence cannot be so easily dismissed, and I follow her chronology for the conversion of the Parthenon.

[10] Cf. Trombley (1993) 118-9 on Speiser's identical hypothesis: "This view can hardly be maintained in a comparative context, however, particularly in light of behavioral evidence gleaned from other parts of the eastern Mediterranean world, unless one posits the existence of entirely unique patterns in local Greek society and culture. . . ."

Spieser attempted to apply Frantz's "spiritual wasteland" scenario to all the temples of Greece.[11] Many of Spieser's conclusions are wrong because he relies, by necessity, on inaccurate excavation reports. Spieser argues that the Christians rarely attacked the pagan temples, but rather occupied them after they were abandoned. Spieser's general belief that the temples were in ruins when churches were built seems quite correct. It does not necessarily follow, however, that all of these sites had already lost their vitality.[12] Veneration could and did continue at even the site of a destroyed temple. The sumptuous rituals and elegant structures of the past could be no more, but the sites remained liminal areas. Old rituals continued, and new ones developed, even as the temple superstructures collapsed.

Continued ritual activity should come, of course, as no surprise. Active cult continued at least until the end of the fifth century in Syria; in Egypt it survived into the eighth century. Closer to home, John of Ephesos purportedly converted tens of thousands in Asia Minor in the third quarter of the sixth century. Justinian was forced to reissue the ban on sacrifice as late as 539, Leo III in the eighth century. The re-issues of these bans are a sure indicator that sacrifice was performed often enough to attract attention. Numerous examples of such activity have been documented, and there is no reason to belabor this issue. Especially important to note is that the surviving pagans were not performing pale imitations of earlier rituals; temples and sacrifices continued to be mentioned and remained as focal points of pagan cult. Temple cults hardly died out; they thrived into the sixth century, and even survived into the tenth century.[13]

---

[11] Spieser (1976).

[12] Dagron (1977) 8 is similarly critical of Spieser. Spieser misinterprets the destruction and demolition of the Asklepieion and sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, and the Aphrodision at Argos; he misdates the destruction of the temple of Isthmia by a century; he does not have sufficient information on late antique Olympia, and misses the mutilation of the colossal Apollo on Delos. None of these errors are through any fault of his own. Rather they underscore the need for first hand study of the inadequately published late antique material from these sanctuaries. Although the results of my investigation are often at variance with their work, Frantz and Spieser must be given credit for forming the framework of the discussion and attempting to address the problem in a sophisticated and analytical matter. My work would not have been possible without theirs. Trombley (1993) 117-18 points out the flaw in Spieser's chronological reasoning: a lack of evidence concerning temple devotions in Greece for the fourth through sixth centuries reflects the state of the sources much more than the historical reality; thus my emphasis on archaeological evidence.

[13] Trombley (1993). Irmscher (1981) offers a brief and incomplete discussion of the sixth century evidence. On Syria see Drijvers (1980), for Syria and Egypt see Trombley (1985) 328 and sources cited there. Trombley also discusses Asia Minor (John of Ephesos), Anatolia and, Greece. For the Mani see Trombley (1985) 347-352. Van Dam's (1985) discussion of Gaza, while important for its methodological suppositions, is problematic because of the questions concerning the date of the Life of Porphyry. See, however, Trombley (1993) 246-82 for a reevaluation and acceptance of the historicity of the Life. Markus (1970) discusses Gregory the Great's seventh century missions to "heathens" in England, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. See esp. *Ep.* 11.35, an exhortation to repress the worship of idols and to destroy the shrines. As one approaches the tenth century the issue becomes more problematic because of the Slavic invasions. While I agree with Trombley's interpretation of the inhabitants of the Mani as being non-Slavs, the issue is not easily resolved. Cf. Trombley (1985) 347. For the laws see *CJ*

The issue is not a minor one. Much scholarship on Greece assumes that "paganism" was dying in the fourth century, dead by the sixth. This was not the case; polytheistic cult in much of its classical form was viable at least through the sixth century and survived in part until the tenth century. In the face of evidence to the contrary, scholars and archaeologists must assume that cult continued, especially in rural settings. Moreover, it becomes necessary to examine each site individually. The situation of Athens, where conversion of the city seems complete by the seventh century, for example, greatly differed from that of Sparta where Nikon the Metanoeite in the tenth century urged the people of the region to abandon their "pagan" ways.

The literary record from late antiquity tells us almost nothing about cult activity at the temples. The early church historians frequently mention the closing of temples under Christian emperors, and the reopening under Julian. These narratives are, not surprisingly, highly unreliable in the chronology and motivations that they present.[14] The intense concern with whether the temples were open or closed reveals, however, that temples and their status continued to concern Christian and non-Christian authors through the fifth century. A handful of references confirms that traditional cult activity could still take place at temples. Festus (proconsul of Asia, 372-378) reportedly visited a temple of Nemesis to seek an interpretation of a dream from those present there, presumably priests.[15] Temples in Egypt continued to be used as places for treaty-making into the fifth century.[16] Julian reports the sacrifice of a single goose by a lonely priest at Daphne.[17] Proclus (ca. 480) prayed for the health of a girl at the temple of Asklepios in Athens.[18] The paucity of literary evidence should not be taken as indicating

---

1.11.9; 1.11.10; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice*, Appendix 4.20. Trombley (1993) 82-4 argues that *CJ* 1.11.9 and 1.11.10 belong to the Emperor Zeno, c. 481-484, and that they were a blow against a rebellious pagan faction siding with Illus. Trombley's attribution is uncertain, but if correct, does not effect the argument here.

[14] Socrates 1.18 (40-41) (Constantine sets up his statue in temples); 3.1 (104) (Julian opens temples); 3.20 (116) (Julian attempts to rebuild temple in Jerusalem) (cf. Chrysostom *Λόγοι κάτα 'Ιουδαιῶν 5 11.5-10)*; 5.16 (146) (Theodosius orders temples in Alexandria destroyed); Sozomen 2.5 (Constantine harasses and loots temples); 5.1 (Julian frequents temples); 5.3 (Julian orders temples re-opened); 5.22 (Julian and temple at Jerusalem); Philostorgius 7.9 (Julian and temple at Jerusalem); Theodoret 3.7 (temple destroyed under Constantius); 3.20 (Julian and temple at Jerusalem); 5.21 (Theodosius orders temples destroyed). Cf. Malalas 13.2 (317) (Constantine destroys temples); 13.37 (344-5) (Theodosius destroys and converts temples). Of particular importance is *SEG* 31.641, an altar inscription from Thessaloniki referring to Julian as the "restorer of temples." It is, unfortunately, impossible to determine the exact extent of Julian's restorative activity and to differentiate between imperially instigated restorations and private restorations undertaken during the opportunity of a favorable climate. Cf. Trombley (1993) 96.

[15] Eunapios *V. Soph.* 7.6.11-13 (481).

[16] Priscus 27.1

[17] Julian 361D-362B. I have omitted most references by the church historians to the cult activity of Julian as it is of little historical value.

[18] Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29. On these event see Trombley (1993) 309-311. See Trombley (1993) 1-98 for numerous examples of late antique sacrifice.

the rarity of such actions. Rather one would not expect the predominately Christian authors of this period to describe activity they wished to believe was dead.

The violent reaction of Christians to some temples in the East likewise implies that cult activity was ongoing at these temples, and Chrysostom admonished his congregation more than once not to frequent the temples.[19] Greece was not, however, under the Praetorian Prefect of the East, and missed the depredation that came largely under the violently anti-pagan Cynegius in 384.[20] Moreover, the monks who were so important in anti-pagan movements both in the East and West probably did not enter Greece in noticeable numbers until the ninth century.[21] But these are isolated and geographically diverse incidents; they can illuminate but not create the story in Corinth.

Not all the reactions of Christians to the temple were violent or antagonistic; some monuments were viewed by Christians with mixed emotions, both fascination and hostility.[22] Generalizations about the state of temples in the fourth century have, of course, limited application. There was no set or strong pattern of temple prosperity or Christian reactions to temples; every temple and every region must be treated individually. In Corinth there is no indication of Christian reuse or even admiration of the temples. Rather the reactions seem to have been entirely negative. Nevertheless, peaceful reactions to temples and pagan monuments elsewhere in the Empire must be remembered as an important counterweight to the largely negative activity that will be related for Corinth. The lack of archaeological evidence cannot indicate that such reactions were unknown or even uncommon in Corinth. At best, what is indicated that the antagonistic Christians were the most active in modifying the religious landscape.

Libanios (*Or.* 30), in a reaction to the excesses of Cynegius, mentions that temple rituals continued in the time of Constantine, although the temples themselves were impoverished (30.6). This impoverishment of the temples is of note. By the fourth century, the great age of the temples seems to be over. Still important and used, their glory had faded. This scenario is perhaps seen as early as the second century in Pausanias, who makes innumerable references to decrepit and ill-maintained temples. The decline cannot be blamed simply on the Christians but is part of a much more complex situation that has its roots, it seems, in the nature of late Roman society and economics. Temple maintenance requires money, and money derived either from the empire, the city, or the local nobility. All these were present, in varying degrees, but what seems to have been missing, especially by the end of the fourth century, was a desire to devote those funds to the temples.

---

[19] Fowden (1978). *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.8 (*PG* 48.851-2, 855); *Hom. in ep. ad Titum* 3.2 (*PG* 62.679), both delivered in the 380's.

[20] Fowden (1978) esp. 64. Thelamon (1981) 160-205 for the Serapaeum in Alexandria. Leibeschuetz (1979) demonstrates, in an important article, the role monks played not only in Christianizing Syria, but also in changing the nature of patronage and the place of cities in society. The temptation is to universalize the scenario he has presented, but the crucial role of the monks makes the form of the transition to Christianity unique to Syria. See also Leibeschuetz (1988).

[21] Trombley (1985) 345; Gregory (1986b) 236. See Fowden (1988) 58-9, (1990b) 500 for the suggestion that Daphni was a fortified monastery.

[22] Saradi-Mendelovici (1990).

Libanios continues in his oration to discuss the ban on sacrifice and Julian's revocation of the anti-pagan legislation. He mentions the renewed ban and, in a very positive manner, thanks Theodosius for continued concession made for the burning of incense (30.7-8):

> And indeed your law has secured this exception, so that we are not pained by the things we have lost but rather give thanks for the things that have been conceded. You have neither ordered the temples to be closed nor even forbade entrance to them; you have not driven fire nor frankincense nor the honor of other incenses from the temples or the altars . . . .

This important passage points to the flexibility of pagan cult and its attempt to survive in an increasingly hostile environment.[23] Flexibility, however, did not mean satisfaction for the worshipper. In a particularly powerful and moving passage (already cited in Chapter I) Libanios describes the agony of Aristophanes, in need of comfort and unable to worship (*Or.* 14.41):

> He went to the remains of the temples, bringing no incense, no sacrifice, no fire, no libation, for that was not allowed, but grief, a mournful voice, and weeping. He broke forth in tears, eyes cast not to the risky sky, but to the ground . . . .

Whether the legislation against paganism was comprehensive or loose, enforced or ignored, the devotees returned to the temples to worship and worshipped as best they could.[24]

Libanios makes it clear that access to the temple and all acts of devotion other than sacrifice were tolerable at the time he wrote. Until 392, it seems that sacrifice was the most objectionable and only intolerable aspect of cult to the Christian emperors. Libanios' passage also reads, however, as a plea issued by one struggling to survive. As the legislation (or more exactly enforcement of the legislation) became stricter, the variety and quantity of offerings must have been reduced. After the complete ban of 392 (*C.Th.* 16.10.2), the continuation of sacrifice is amply evidenced, often as a precursor to hostile Christians action.[25] It is probable that smaller, more innocuous offerings, such as votive lamps and incense, became the norm in places where enemies might be watching.[26] Sacrifice continued unabated in areas, predominantly rural, where no one cared.

---

[23] Cf. Libanios, *Or.* 30.201, 221.

[24] See Trombley (1993) 14-15 on the adaptability of cult, citing *C.Th.* 16.10.12.2.

[25] See Fowden (1978).

[26] Collins-Clinton (1977) 15 mentions twenty-nine lamps left on pedestals in the shrine of Liber Pater at Cosa. These were probably votive lamps.

Literary evidence for cult activity in the Korinthia is minimal. That the temple was a popular cult center in Corinth through the second century is certain. Paul testifies to the vitality of pagan cult, sacrifice and ritual dining in first-century Corinth.[27] Pausanias' (2.2.6-2.3.4; 2.4.6-2.5.2) description of the temples in the Korinthia portrays them as cared for and still functioning. But for the late antique period, literary evidence is completely lacking.

In the absence of literary evidence, the archaeological material must be our primary guide in the study of temples in the late-antique Korinthia. Over a century of archaeological work in the region has yielded a reasonably detailed knowledge of many of the temples. The state of knowledge is far from ideal, especially with the outlying temples, but a synthetic picture is possible. None of the temples of the Korinthia were left standing long into the fifth century. The structure dubbed by Dinsmoor the "largest temple in the Peloponnese" was so thoroughly dismantled that while many architectural members have been found, its original location has not. Many pieces found their way into the late fourth and early fifth century fortifications of the city.[28] On the summit of Acrocorinth was the famous temple of Aphrodite. Reuse of this summit for a church, a tower, mosque, platform, and "miserable hut" destroyed most of the evidence concerning this temple. Poros blocks remained, however, to be reused in the church and subsequent structures. The destruction of the temple must have preceded the construction of this church, of course, but no precise date can be assigned.[29] The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was thoroughly destroyed in the late fourth or perhaps early fifth century, but no conclusions can be drawn until publication of this site is complete.[30]

Several temples that functioned in the Roman period have been located and excavated in and near the forum of Corinth (see Plan 3). While none of these temples, have been firmly identified, the Archaic Temple was probably that of Apollo and Temple E that of the Imperial Cult.[31] Despite our inability to determine the precise identities of these structures, much less determine anything about the rituals performed, we do know a bit about the structural histories of some of the temples at the west end of the forum.

---

[27] 1 Cor. 8; 10:20-23; cf. Acts 18.

[28] Temple: Dinsmoor (1949) 115. Wiseman (1967B) 412 for material in wall; he suggests that the fragments of the Doric temple had already been reused once before being placed in the wall. While he offers no evidence, this is a possibility that must be seriously considered. Late Roman Wall: Wiseman (1967b) 411-2, Gregory (1979).

[29] Blegen (1930) 3-4, 18-28; Corinth Notebook 90A, 80-127. Blegen (1930) 27-8 was brutal but honest in his dismissal of late material: "The great bulk of pottery brought to light about the summit belonged, however, to coarse unpainted wares of Late Roman and Byzantine times, and no further description need be given here." See Chapter VI on the churches.

[30] Slane (1991) 5n.15; Pemberton (1989) 191; Stroud (1965) 1-24; Bookidis (1972) 284. As full publication of this site is imminent, I have not drawn any conclusions from the preliminary reports.

[31] On the temples and identification see Scranton (1951). More recent work has focused on Temple E. Walbank (1989) argues this was the Capitolium. Williams (1989) argues, more successfully I think, that Temple E housed the Imperial cult. To Williams' arguments I would add the temple of Domitian at Ephesos which seems to be a good parallel for the placement of the Imperial cult in a dominant position in the forum (Price (1984) 140).

Unfortunately, the west end of the forum was one of the first areas excavated, and no accurate or detailed excavation records exist for these temples; the best that can be gleaned is a general chronology of events.[32] Temple D seems to have been destroyed before the third quarter of the fifth century, and there is evidence of deliberate demolition.[33] A grave in the southwest corner of Temple F indicates that the structure was demolished by the middle of the sixth century. Temple J may have been destroyed in part as early as the fifth century, or well into the sixth century. Parts of the temple remained standing through the twelfth century, but there is no indication that the entire structure was intact this late. The Archaic Temple of Corinth, commonly called the Temple of Apollo, has been repeatedly excavated, but no records remain from the early excavations, and the excavations of the late 1960's and early 1970's are still largely unpublished. The evidence seems to suggest that the structure was parially destroyed and demolished at the end of the fourth century.

The evidence for most of the temples at the west end of the forum is rather indefinite. There is a strong suggestion, however, that these buildings suffered varying degrees of destruction and demolition, and their constituent blocks were recut for use during or shortly after the fifth century. The concentration of activity seems to have come at the end of the fourth and beginning of the early fifth century, a time in which, we shall see, several other structures and temples were dismantled and their blocks re-used. The west terrace near which these temples were situated was disassembled and the stone reused in the late sixth century or after, and it seems probable that what remained of the temples in this area largely disappeared at this time.[34]

---

[32] For the sake of the narrative, detailed discussion of the archaeological record of the temples is to be found in Appendix A. I have omitted "Temple K" as it is doubtful this structure was a temple. Wiseman (1979) 529.

[33] Destruction is used to describe the actual collapse of a structure; demolition is the process of removing architectural pieces and perhaps reworking them. The difference is more than semantic. There is no destruction layer at the Asklepieion (contrary to the published reports), but there is a demolition layer; this layer tells us little about the collapse of the temple, but much about what was done to it after it collapsed. Failure to make this distinction in published reports has caused a number of errors, most noticeably Spieser's (1986) 312-313 description of violent temple destructions at Corinth and Argos.

[34] Scranton (1951) 73, (1957) 24-5 for the west terrace. The date of destruction is based on the assumption, probably correct, that the five late Roman statues found in this region were placed on this terrace. For the statues see Johnson (1931) 150-54.

Temple E, as mentioned above, probably housed the Imperial Cult. Unfortunately, successive plundering and less than thorough early excavations destroyed any evidence there may have been for the history of the Imperial Cult in Corinth in late antiquity. Excavations at Temple E, the mound of which was always visible, began in 1901 and the temple mound was completely excavated by 1932. The tenuous suggestion can be made that Temple E underwent some sort of restoration in the late Roman period, and seems to have functioned in a standard manner at least through the fourth century. The final moments of the superstructure of Temple E were not gentle ones. Many architectural pieces were smashed after falling from a height or having another large piece had fall upon them. Following the collapse of the superstructure, blocks from the Temple were taken for reuse or for the lime kilns. The evidence indicates that the destruction and demolition occurred at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, with the quarrying process continuing for many centuries after that. An abundance of coins from the end of the fourth century found in the demolition debris may be an indication of the process of selling architectural pieces and stone blocks.

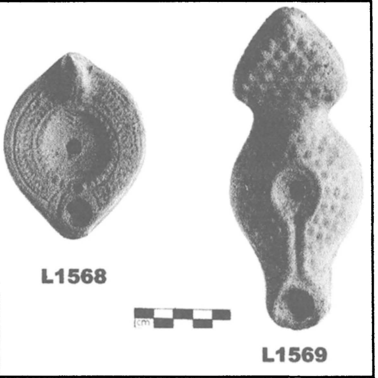


Figure 5: Lamps from Temple E graves.

The temple podium made primarily from limestone blocks of little interest, remained visible despite the quarrying process, however, and the surrounding area became a popular early Christian burial site.[35] While later, Byzantine, burials were cut into the temple podium, the early Christian burials were not located on the podium, the site of the temple proper, but rather clustered around the podium. Just north of the temple at late Roman ground levels were found two graves. Associated with these graves were two lamps dating from the middle fifth to sixth centuries (Figure 5).[36] A mass burial south of the temple podium also dates from the middle fifth to sixth century.[37] Near this mass burial a child was buried in an amphora that may date to the fifth or sixth century.[38] Another grave, north of the temple, contained no datable artifacts but may be associated with this cemetery.[39] A vaulted tomb just outside the temenos in the northwest corner seems to date to the sixth century or perhaps later.[40]

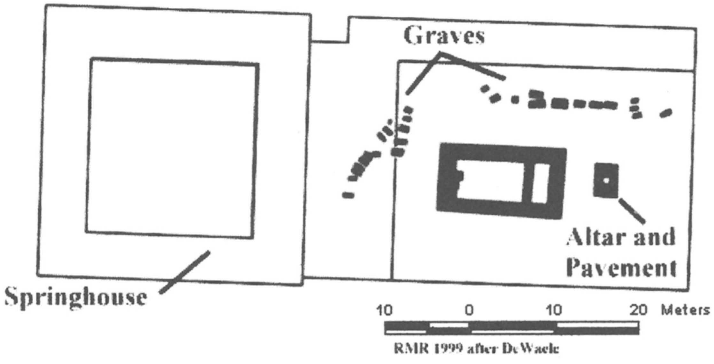
---

[35] See Scranton (1957) 67 for this cemetery.

[36] L 1568 (middle fifth to early sixth). L 1569 is unique, to my knowledge, at Corinth. It seems to be Ephesian, and probably dates from the fifth to sixth century, although it may be perhaps as late as the late seventh century.

[37] L 1571 (third-early fourth century), 1572 (mid fifth-mid sixth century) and 1573 (late fourth-fifth century). Inside this grave were three coins dating from Aurelian to Eugenius. But given the high number of coins in this region it is not unlikely that these coins strayed into the burial.

These graves, clustered around Temple E, are, with a few exceptions, the only early Christian graves in the forum; the rest are seventh and eight century burials.[41] Thus one might argue that the Christians targeted Temple E as a burial ground. Such focused activity was an indication of Christian concern over "pagan" activity. This is best indicated, as we shall we, at the Asklepieion.



Plan 5: Asklepieion

The Asklepieion of Corinth was built at the edge of the northern plateau of the city, near the city wall. The Temple and sanctuary of Asklepios are the best understood of all those in Corinth, in part because their location was not heavily reused in subsequent periods, and in part because of the care taken in documenting the excavations.[42] The temple of Asklepios rested upon a bedrock outcrop and just to the west were a number of natural springs (Plan 2). The importance of the Asklepieon in both the general argument of the book, and as an example of what the archaeological record can reveal, necessitates the incorporation of the archaeological evidence into the narrative discussion here, rather than Appendix A.

---

[38] Corinth Notebook 127, 75. The amphora was apparently discarded, but is described as having a "ribbed decoration around pointed base and neck." This may describes a Palestinian amphora of the type used in burials near the gymnasium and Asklepieion, but the identification and thus dating are most tendentious.

[39] Corinth Notebook 128, 32.

[40] Anderson (1967) 6.

[41] Williams (1974) 9-10, (1975) 15-16, (1976) 118n.24 (tomb no earlier than second quarter sixth century at west end of forum); Stillwell (1941) 55 late Roman grave in drain of Peribolos). Many more graves have been found, but are as yet unpublished. Few of these seem to be fourth or fifth century, some seem to be sixth century, but the majority seem to be later than the sixth century.

[42] The Greek and Roman periods at the Asklepieion have been published, with slightly different interpretations by DeWaele (1933) and (1935), the excavator, and Roebuck (1951). Neither scholar, however, fully studied the late Roman material. On the topography see C. Roebuck, (1951) 1, and Wiseman, (1979) 467-8. The hollow and courtyard were incorrectly identified as the fountain of Lerna by early excavators, see Wiseman, (1979) 511-12. Preliminary publications of the Asklepieion were made by DeWaele (1933) and (1935). I have also

Sometime in late antiquity, the Asklepieion underwent a particularly thorough destruction and demolition; the buildings were razed to their foundations and the building stones were completely removed, often being reworked on the spot. The demolition layer itself was extremely disturbed by middle fifth to the middle sixth century intrusions from the Christian cemetery that filled the courtyard and the areas north and east of the temple. Only in the area directly above and slightly beyond the temple foundations was the demolition layer undisturbed, an act of preservation that in and of itself is a matter of importance, as shall be shown below.

Over the foundations of the eastern portion of the temple and to the south and east of this area there was a series of ash layers 0.50-0.70m above the bedrock. These six or seven ash layers do not represent one act of burning, or even one occurrence, but rather a series of events. The ash layers are so thin and intermixed, however, they must be treated as one stratigraphic unit. In these ash layers six coins were found, the latest a coin of Valentinian II (375-391). Six lamps were found in or just above these ash layers, all dating from the late fourth to the early fifth century (Figure 6). The ash layers also contained a large quantity of marble revetment, some of it showing traces of burning. The presence of these marble fragments probably indicates that the ash is the result of burning marble for lime. Some fragments of sculpture were also found in the ash layers. The layers extended north to the temenos wall but no farther.[43]

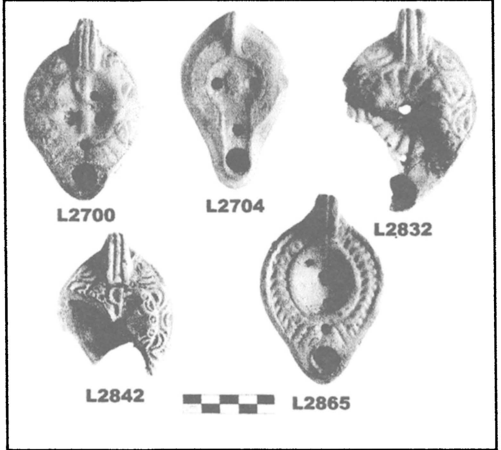


Figure 6: Lamps from ash layer.

---

utilized an unpublished manuscript of DeWaele (1940?) and Corinth Notebooks 113, 122, 126, 136, 197, and 198.

[43] For burn layers see Corinth Notebook 122, pp. 104-5. The coins: 1931-147 and 1931-96 Constantius II, 1931-159 House of Theodosius, 1931-212 Constans, 1931-182 Theodosius I and (1931-189) Valentinian II. The lamps: L 2832 (350-400), L 2685 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2842 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2704 (late fourth/early fifth century), L2700 (late fourth/early fifth century), and L 2816 (unavailable). The sculpture fragments: are

Below the ash layers over the eastern section of the temple foundations there evidently was another stratum. This was a heavy layer of stone chips and "chalk." This stratum extended 0.50m above the bedrock foundations and contained four coins, the latest being one of Arcadius (395-408). In this layer of chips a fifth-century lamp was found (Figure 7). This chip layer lay directly on the bedrock cap on which the temple rested, except for a few places where patches of a very thin, apparently Hellenistic, clay strosis was preserved. Coins were also found directly on the bedrock foundations; the latest were two coins of Theodosius II (408-450). These two coins provide a *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the demolition layer. Whether this terminus is closer to 408 or 450 or even later we cannot, unfortunately, tell.[44]

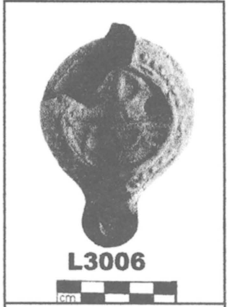


Figure 7: Lamp from chip layer.

Southeast of the temple, underneath the earliest ash layer, was a stratum of hard-packed earth. It is not clear what this stratum represented, but DeWaele felt that it was alluvium. A coin of Valens (364-378) was found in this stratum.[45] Directly to the east of the temple, the ash layers lay upon the temple ramp with no intervening layer of alluvium or chips. While the ash layer did not go farther to the east, the layer of chips and perhaps alluvium extended east to the edge of the excavation.

The stratigraphy indicates that the blocks of the temple and attendant structures were removed at roughly the same period. The quantity of stone chips found in the area indicate not only the general work of demolition but also that the blocks were being reworked on the spot, most likely being cut down for easier transport. The ash layers are slightly more problematic; they cannot be one final cataclysmic destruction as proposed by DeWaele. The burning is probably to be related to the reduction of some the material

---

inventory nos. 1442, 1455, 1465, 1468, and the apparently uninventoried head of a "rough figurine" mentioned in Corinth Notebook 122, p. 138.

[44] Material in the chip layers: The coins are 1931-139, 1931-149 and 1931-144 Theodosius I, 1931-142 Valens, and 1931-158 Arcadius; the lamp is L 3006. Coins on bedrock: 1931-149 Gratian, 1931-246 and 1931-291 Theodosius II, 1931-374 Constantius II, 1931-291 Theodosius II, and 1931-391 H. of Theodosius. L 3006 is an Ephesian lamp (Miltner (1937) Type 10), cf. esp. nos. 1446, 1447, 1450. Bailey (1988) Q 3178 is also a good parallel. These lamps are largely undatable. Williams (1981) 396 suggests these lamps are fifth century; Bailey (1988) suggests 550-650 on the basis of evidence unavailable to Williams. Poulou-Papadimitriou (1986) offers slightly earlier dates and suggests that the Chi-Rho appears on the lamps in the fourth century, simple crosses in the fifth, although she draws this conclusion on purely stylistic grounds. One can only express uncertainty and hope for publications from excavated contexts. Given the coins found in association with this lamp (L 3006) it is unlikely that this example dates to the sixth of seventh century. Imitations of Type 20 lamps appear in the Fountain of the Lamps deposit and have been dated as early as the middle sixth century; this may also suggests a date earlier than proposed by Bailey. I assign a date, following Williams and Poulou-Papadimitriou, in the fifth century.

[45] 1931-97.

from the temple, such as the sculpture and revetment fragments found in the ash layer, to lime. Lime kilns were found directly NE of the temple, in the ramps, and in the west colonnade of Lerna. The kiln northeast of the temple contained black earth, ashes, burned stone and tiles.[46] It is possible that the "chalky substance" mentioned by DeWaele in excavation reports may have been pockets of lime left over from this work.

All the demolition debris overlying the area of the temple is contemporaneous; the ceramics and coins are all late fourth and early fifth century, the latest material being the fifth-century lamp found in the layer of chips and the coins of Theodosius II. The material of the temple, therefore, had all been removed or burned for lime by the end of the first half of the fifth century. The demolition of the temple cannot date much earlier than this, at the very end of the fourth century or the early fifth century, perhaps as a result of seismic activity.

The fill in the courtyard west of and below the outcrop upon which the temple was built is largely that of late intrusions that do not reflect upon the end of the physical life of the sanctuary. An apparently undisturbed fill was found in the north central section of the courtyard. In this area there was a layer of poros chips, roof tiles and other debris approximately 0.20m above the pavement. Coins were found in this fill dating as late as Arcadius (395-408). Broken pavement was also found just north of cavern II. In the fill of the broken pavement were coins as late as Honorius (413-423), and lamps from the fifth and sixth centuries (Figure 8). The evidence from the lower courtyard, though extremely fragmentary, confirms the picture of demolition drawn from the remains from the temple foundations.[47]

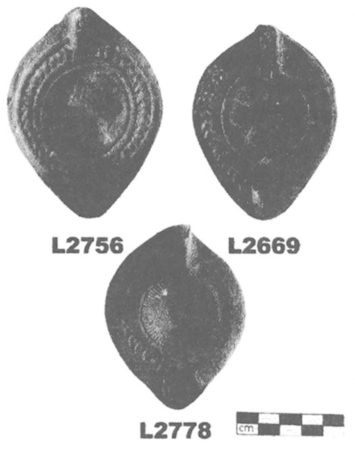


Figure 8: Lamps from demolition debris.

---

[46] Cataclysmic destruction: DeWaele (1933) 435). The kiln: Corinth Notebook 122, p.135, 149, DeWaele (1935) 334 and Roebuck (1951) 161 and plate 66,1. The structure in the Lerna colonnade is substantial and could conceivably be a pottery kiln as DeWaele and Roebuck suppose. Large lime kilns have been found in the Korinthia, however, most notably at Kenchreai: Scranton (1978) 86, 92, 121. The kiln, be it lime or pottery, is late Roman in date and cannot be related to the early Roman lamp molds found in the area.

[47] In the courtyard the fill is quite mixed from multiple Byzantine and later intrusions. Lamps and coins from the first to sixth centuries were found just above the pavement of this court. Coins: 32-224 Probus, 32-246, 33-68 and 33-109 Theodosius II, 32-405 Valentinian I, 32-410 Marcianus, 33-69 and 33-73 Valens, 33-75 Claudius, 33-77 Arcadius, 33-78 Tiberius, 33-92 and 33-108 Constantius II, 33-111 Arcadius. Lamps: L 2974 (middle fifth-middle sixth), L 2756 (late fifth-middle sixth) L 2774 (middle fifth-middle sixth), L 2730 (middle fifth-middle sixth). Lamps and Coins also were found directly on the pavement: 33-168 Alexius I, L

Positive evidence for late Roman activity at the Asklepieion is limited but revelatory. The presence of more than seven hundred late Roman coins in the area is perhaps indicative of high traffic in the region. The fill in the area of the Asklepieion was deep, however, and extremely mixed; most of the coins are from this fill and some may have washed in from other areas. Furthermore, the North gate to the city, yet undiscovered, must be, by reasons of topography, in this area, and we can be certain that at least one major road leading north ran near the Asklepieion.[48] It seems probable, however, that the large quantity of coins found in and about the demolition debris represents the buying and selling of reworked blocks on the premises, as seems to have been the case at Temple E.

The architectural evidence for late Roman activity at the sanctuary is scant, as one might expect.[49] A small section of pavement was uncovered 3m east of the temple. Contiguous with and bonded with this pavement was a broken marble column shaft (c. diam. 0.48m, c. preserved height 0.525m, c. diameter of fillet 0.495m), almost directly on the east-west axis of the temple; this shaft must predate or be contemporary with the pavement. This pavement is made of cement mixed with heavy pebbles, fragments of revetment, and pieces of Roman tile. It is only found around the column shaft and there is no reason to believe that it existed elsewhere in the sanctuary.[50] Below the pavement were found coins of Constantius II, providing a date for the pavement sometime after the mid-fourth century or perhaps much later given the notorious long life of these coins.[51]

The careful location of the shaft and the installation of cement paving at the focal point of the front side of the temple suggests that it was an altar or offering table. Cylindrical monolithic altars, not infrequently in the form of a plain shaft, appear in the pre-classical period and continue in use through-

---

2622 (Aug-1C), L 2669 (late fourth-early fifth), L 2724 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2895 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2778 (middle fifth-middle sixth). In the fill of poros chips were found 33-119 Theodosius I, 33-121 and 33-139 Constantius II, 33-122 Arcadius, 33-140 Constans. The coins in the debris of the broken pavement were 33-240 Constantius II, 33-241, 33-242, 33-243 Theodosius I and 33-245 Honorius.

[48] On the north gate in the city wall see Wiseman, (1979) 467 and Carpenter (1936) 78. See also Gregory (1979) 276-77 who proposes a gate in this vicinity.

[49] Roebuck (1951) 59 argues that the deep east-west cutting north of the temple foundations was an unfinished project, perhaps a drain, cut in the late Roman period for an unknown structure east of the Sanctuary. DeWaele (1940?) 154 suggests, perhaps more reasonably, that this is a foundation cutting for a Roman "building" moved away from the north scarp. The cutting remains an enigma; it was, however, filled with the same debris that covered the rest of the area in the late fourth and early fifth century.

[50] DeWaele (1940?) 156.

[51] DeWaele (1940?) 155; Roebuck (1951) 41-2. Roebuck proposes that the drum is later than the pavement and served as a "crude worktable." As shown above, however, the shaft is earlier or contemporary with the pavement, unless one assumes that at a later date the pavement was cut into, the shaft inserted and then the pavement carefully repaired to make a join with the shaft, all for a "crude worktable."

out classical antiquity until the end of the Roman period.[52] While there is no positive evidence, it is conceivable that a table or slab could have been placed upon this shaft.

The chronological position of this column shaft altar is more difficult to determine. The evidence for the larger altar, slightly farther to the east, is ambiguous, but there is no reason to think it was destroyed at an earlier period than the rest of the sanctuary. If the columnar altar was installed in the mid-fourth century prior to the dismantling of the sanctuary, it may have acted as a second altar. Perhaps the preference of the responsible parties was for a smaller circular altar or offering table rather than the larger rectangular altar, or conceivably, both were used. The altar, however, most probably post-dates the demolition of the sanctuary. While it is possible that the column shaft altar was meant as a supplement to the long altar, a much more plausible supposition is that this late addition replaces the long altar after the destruction of the sanctuary and the subsequent reduction of the cult. The placement of the round altar demonstrates that even after the collapse and perhaps even removal of the structures, the physical site of the temple was the focus of the cult. Enough interest remained to replace the altar, albeit it in a less than grandiose way.[53]

The Asklepieion at Corinth collapsed at the end of the fourth century and shortly thereafter its building material began to be mined for reuse. By the second half of the fifth century the structure had been obliterated, and the site was covered with mounds of debris from the work of deconstruction. Sometime during this period, an altar and small pavement were constructed at the site where the temple once stood. Activity at the site, however, continued until the end of the sixth century, as will be demonstrated below.

We should not, of course, be surprised at cult activity at a decrepit temple site. Such a phenomenon was not new to late antiquity. Pausanias, in discussing Nemea, makes it clear that cult activity can continue at a site where the temple has suffered extensive damage (2.15.2-3):

> The Temple of Nemean Zeus at this place is worth seeing, except the roof has collapsed and the cult statue no longer remains. . . . The Argives burn offerings to Zeus even at Nemea. . . .

Despite the poor state of the temple and the absence of the cult statue, the Argives continued to sacrifice in Pausanias' day. Pausanias even emphasized the fact that the sacrifice is performed at Nemea: *καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ*. While the presence of a standing temple was probably desirable, it was not a prerequisite for cult activity.

---

[52] See Yavis (1943) 136-7, 142-53 and Bowerman (1913) 59-76, 81-3. For round offering tables at a healing shrine, though not of the same period, see J. Travlos, *PDAA*, s.v. Amyneion, 77-76.

[53] If an early date for the altar is preferred, one might relate it to temple restorations undertaken during the reign of Julian. Such activity is specifically attested in Thessaloniki, *SEG* 31.641.

An extreme example of the continued sacredness of decrepit temples comes from Gaza in the late fourth or early fifth century. The temple of Zeus Marnas, the Marneion, was destroyed and blocks from the buildings were reused. The sacred stones, specifically designated as not to walked upon (especially by women), were used as paving stones in the main street, where they would be trodden upon not only by men and women, but also dogs and swine. Despite this inflammatory action on the part of the Christians, people continued to revere the blocks in the new location.[54]

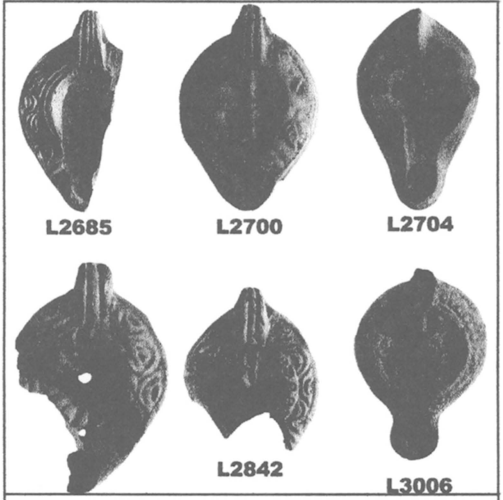


Figure 9: Votive Lamps from Asklepieion.

Cult activity after the destruction of the temple of Asklepios is well evidenced by the presence of lamps placed upon the foundation and amidst the debris of the demolished temple. These lamps, the majority of which are whole and undamaged, are unusual finds indeed in the midst of such thorough destruction (Figure 9). The stone chips and ash overlying the temple were largely bereft of any other ceramic material. The area was never used as a dumping ground, and the lamps are unbroken, a good indication that they were not trash. The lamps, deliberately placed on the foundations of the temple and left there undisturbed, were votive offerings left at the temple.[55] A similar situation was found at Temple E. There too, resting in and on the demolition debris, in largely complete and undamaged condition, were several lamps (Figure 10).[56] These lamps, glaring in their presence in the debris, are a clear indication of continued cult ritual at the site of the

[54] *V. Porphyrii* 76. Trombley (1993) 34, 203. Trombley (1993) 203 cites an unpublished possible parallel from Carian Aphrodisias, where relief sculpture were re-used, face-down, to pave a large courtyard.

[55] The lamps are L 2832 (350-400), L 2685 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2842 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2704 (late fourth/early fifth century), L2700 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2816 (unavailable), and L 3006 (fifth century).

[56] L 1576 (mid fifth-mid sixth century), 1600 (Attic, *Chiones*, fifth century), 1601 (late fourth-fifth century), 1607 (Late fourth-fifth century) in chip layer. L 1612 (Attic glazed, late fourth-early fifth century), 1613 (Late fourth-fifth century) and 1614 (late fourth-fifth century) were found in fill from where blocks had been removed from the podium. L 1577 (mid fifth-mid sixth century) was found apparently in the temple foundations. Perhaps to be included are L 1564 (late fourth-fifth century), 1565 (late fourth-fifth century), 1566 (Hellenistic), 1567 (Ephesian, fifth-sixth century), 1573 (late fourth-fifth century).

collapsed and removed temples through at least the middle of the sixth century.

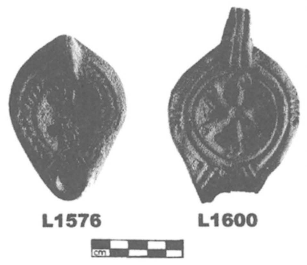


Figure 10: Votive lamps from Temple E.

The importance of the lamp as a central object in late-antique pagan cult will be discussed again with the Fountain of the Lamps, a cult site with a deposit of more than 4000 votive lamps. A remarkably precise parallel to the cult lamps at the Asklepieion in Corinth is to be found at the temple of Aphrodite in Argos.[57] A demolition layer of chips and ash, markedly similar to that over the Asklepieion in Corinth, overlay the Aphrodision. The destruction of the structure occurred at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century and the temple remains were immediately pillaged. In this destruction and demolition layer were the abundant late Roman lamps, so abundant that there can be no doubt that they were votive dedications.[58]

Libanios (30.8), when thanking Theodosius for allowing certain aspects of cult practice even after forbidding sacrifice, mentions specifically (and first) the fire (*πῦρ*).[59] This cannot be the fire of sacrifice, for sacrifice has been forbidden, nor is it the fire of burning incense, for incense is the next item mentioned. Libanios refers to fire itself as an object of ritual, and while he may not be referring specifically to lamps, the principle is the same. Fire, and thus lamps, are a suitable and popular offering to the gods.

Beyond the votive offerings on the foundations of Temple E and the Asklepieion, there is evidence of sacrifice at the Asklepieion in what may be, in fact, a votive pit. As discussed above, there can be no doubt that incidents of sacrifice continued well after and despite repeated bans. In the fill of the courtyard (overlying the, at that point, decrepit remains of the northernmost Greek dining room) a pit containing what seems to be clean up from sacrifices was found. The spot, west of the temple foundations and separated by the small precipice that divided the fountain courtyard and the temple platform, was ideal for a deposit. The area was close to the temple and unused, except for the nearby Christian graves. A pit, dug 0.50 - 1.00 meters below the level of the courtyard pavement, contained a thick level of

---

[57] For other examples from farther afield see Gassowska (1982) 112 for the late fourth-century dedication of locally-produced lamps at the temple of Allat in Palmyra, and Collins-Clinton (1977) 15 for twenty-nine votive lamps left on pedestals in the shrine of Liber Pater at Cosa.

[58] Daux (1969) 1009-1010.

[59] Cf. Burkert (1985) 60-64.

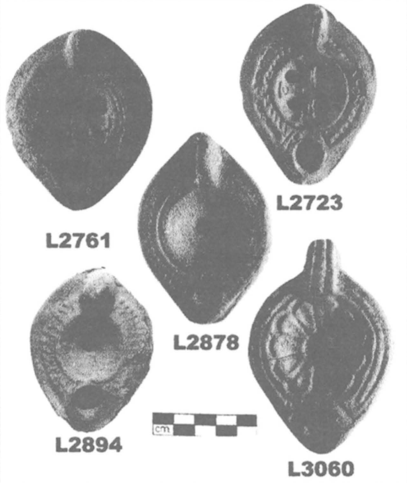


Figure 11: Lamps from votive pit.

animal bones and burned stones. Mixed in with the bones and stones were lamps ranging from the early fifth to the mid-sixth centuries (Figure 11).[60]

Pits containing the remains of sacrifices and votives were a necessity. This pit seems to contain debris from occasional sacrifice and clean up of the votive lamps left on the foundations of the temple of Asklepios. A ***terminus post quem*** of the middle sixth century is provided for the cleanup; the activity and presumably the sacrifices continued up to that point. While a pit of bones and burnt stones could represent a variety of things, the presence of largely intact lamps is the key indicator that the activity was sacral. Good lamps were not disposed of in trash pits. That the lamps are intact indicates their votive nature, and votive objects could easily find their way into the remains of a sacrifice. The burial of votives receives good attestation, in fact, from the burial of terracota anatomical votives at the Asklepieion of Corinth in the Classical period.[61] While the evidence is not certain, there is a good indication that ritual continued at the Asklepieion at least through the sixth century.

Concern over the continued cult activity at the physically damaged sanctuary of Asklepios manifested itself in the placement of Christian graves in the area. By the middle of the fifth century, no more than fifty years after the demolition of the temple, a large cemetery had extended into the area of the Asklepieion. The area north of the city had long been used as a burial ground, and the incorporation of the Asklepieion into this territory was inevitable once it was abandoned by the civic authorities. Also in this period the fountain house in the courtyard was converted into a memorial chamber.[62]

---

[60] Corinth Notebook 126, p. 131; cf. Roebuck (1951), 160. L 2761 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2894 (early fifth-middle sixth), L 3060 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2723 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2878 (early fifth-middle sixth). Unfortunately the bones were not saved.

[61] Roebuck (1951) 128-38. van Straten (1981) contains an excellent discussion of votives in the Greek period. The converse argument would be that the bones represent funerary meals, a well attested pagan and Christian late antique practice. Cf. Gregory the Theologian, *P.A.* 8.166, 168-170, 171-175 on feasting at tombs; *C.Th.* 16.10.19.3 forbidding convivial banquets as part of sacrilegious rites at tombs. Trombley (1993) 69-70. The presence of lamps in the debris inveighs against this, however, and it is doubtful that these are Christian votive lamps, for the presence of lamps at the head of graves upon excavation (see below) indicates the Christian predilection for leaving lamps undisturbed. In the springhouse chapel (see below) the Christians moved dedicated lamps aside when they became too numerous; they did not remove, reuse or dispose of them.

More than 300 burials were found in the precinct of the Asklepieion. These varied from child burials in amphorae and standard tile burials to rock-cut cist graves. The graves in this area all seem to be Christian; their orientation is consistently east-west and the heads were usually placed at the west end of the grave. Likewise, numerous Christian tombstones have been recovered from this burial ground.[63] Seventeen rock-cut graves were located on the north and north-west edge of the bedrock outcrop that formed the foundation for the temple of Asklepios and attendant structures. No other burials were found in the vicinity of the temple and the vast majority were located in the courtyard to the west. Grave goods in both the graves around the temple and in the courtyard were infrequent. Three jugs were recovered from the graves near the temple, all of which date to the sixth century (Figure 12). Numerous complete lamps, however, were found near or on top of the graves. At one grave three lamps were found complete and in situ at the west end of the grave (Figure 13). These lamps were memorial lamps, placed (presumably lit) and left at the west end of the grave by family members or other interested parties.[64]

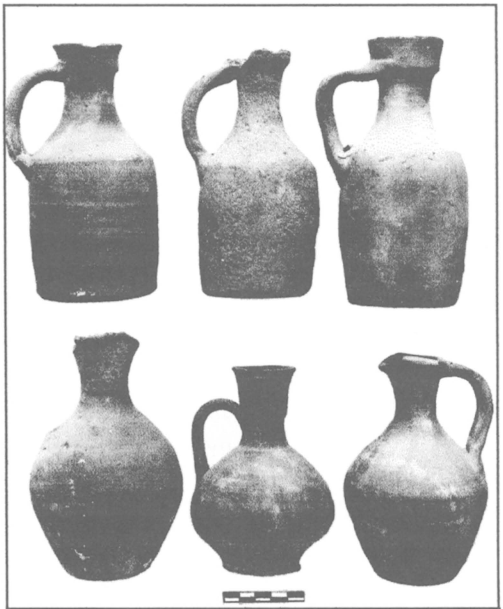


Figure 12: Jugs from graves.

---

[62] On burials north of the city see Blegen (1964), Shear (1931) and Wiseman (1967B) 417-20. See also Roebuck (1951), 162-7. Roebuck reports (160 n.1, 162 and 164) the cemetery as having been in use from the late fourth through the sixth centuries (cf. DeWaele (1935) 357). Many, perhaps the majority, of the lamps which Roebuck uses for dating purposes are later Korinthian imitations of fourth century lamps and date not to the fourth but rather the fifth and sixth centuries. The cemetery is in use by the early fifth century, but the main period of activity seems to be the sixth century. The mass burial in Reservoir IV (Roebuck (1951) 164) is dated to the middle sixth century by three coins 33-214 and 33-212 are coins of Anastasius I (491-518) and 33-211 is a coin of Justinian I (527-565).

[63] Roebuck (1951) 165-7 and Bees (1941).

[64] The jugs are C-31-60, C-31-59 and C-31-58. A coin of Honorius (1931-95) was found with jug C-31-60. Similar jugs and also lamps were found in some of the graves in the courtyard; the earliest is L 2685 which dates to the early fifth century, the latest are L 3092 and L

The placement of these graves near the temple is of particular interest. These graves, several of which date, as we have seen, to the sixth century, were placed north and northwest of the temple foundations. As demonstrated above, the superstructure of the temple had been removed approximately one-hundred years earlier than the date of these graves. No later structure had replaced the edifice and the foundations were, by the sixth century, cluttered with debris. The grave diggers showed no hesitancy to reuse the reservoirs or to cut through the debris and pavement of the courtyard if such activity facilitated their work. Only the region of the temple remained unused. While areas bordering the place of the once-standing temple were acceptable, the area of the temple itself was unsatisfactory. The conclusion is unavoidable; at a minimum the site of the temple was still viewed with suspicion.

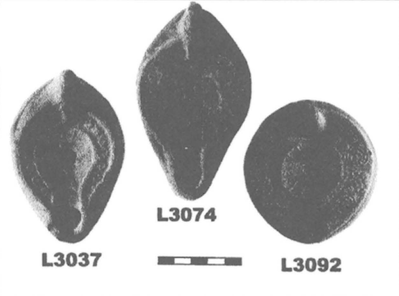


Figure 13: Lamps from graves.

The continued clustering of the Christian graves indicates that concern over the Asklepieion and Temple E continued over 150 years after their destruction. The remains of the temple were completely unrecognizable when the graves were installed. A passer-by could not have casually examined the remains and discovered that the debris had once been a temple. Moreover, it is improbable that memory of the site as a temple would have continued for a century and a half unless it were a point of some importance. Christian concern must have been a reaction to contemporary cult activity of the sort demonstrated at the Asklepieion. The nature of this Christian response reveals much about the relationship between some of the Christians and non-Christians in late Antique Corinth.

The first question we must address is why the Christians chose to bury near the areas where the temples once stood, but not on the spot of the temples themselves. The obvious answer might seem to be fear. Pagan sites were, of course, the homes of demons, and no Christian would presumably want to be buried in such a place. On the other hand, however, the demons were considered relatively powerless against the Christian God. If someone wanted to purify the temple sites and use them as burial grounds, the procedure would have been relatively easy. The sign of the cross born by a powerful priest could have accomplished an exorcism. The Christians either

3039 which date to the mid-sixth century. For photographs of burials and lamps and jugs from the Asklepieion burials see Roebuck (1951), Pl. 67, 1, 4, 5, 6. For comparanda see Wiseman(1967) 37-8; (1968) 418-20. The lamps are L 3074 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3037 (Early sixth-middle sixth century) and L 3092 (Middle sixth century). On late Roman burials see also Papadopoulos (1989) 78.

could not or did not want to purify these sites. While individuals might have feared the site because it had not been exorcised, exorcism would not have been delayed out of fear, unless it was a fear of failure.

The positioning of the graves indicates more than concern about unhallowed ground; it was a challenge. The graves advertised, in a sense, the supremacy of Christianity in fifth and sixth century Corinth. These graves, many of which would have included structures above ground and tombstones expressing Christian sentiments would have been a noticeable counterpart to the, by that time, ruinous temple sites. A Christian visiting the relatively new monuments of the cemetery would see the demolished remains of the cult sites. A devotee approaching the temples, or rather remains thereof, must have noticed the indicators of the pre-eminent status of Christianity. The temples were ruined piles of rubbish, the Christian cemeteries were well-kept and oft-visited sites of devotion. Ironically, the graves in juxtaposition with the destroyed temples declared that Christianity was alive and vital, "paganism" impotent and dying.

The placement of the graves was, however, a much more serious challenge than a mere advertising campaign. The graves presented a definite threat to cult. Corpses were not allowed inside sanctuaries. Individuals who had come into contact with the dead were required to undergo purification. Julian (Ep. 56) objected to daytime burials for this very reason:[65]

> Therefore I think it is proper that burial rites be carried out [at night], since for many reasons such things are unacceptable during the day . . . For the matter is in all ways intolerable. Indeed, those chancing upon [the funerals] are many times filled with disgust, for some think it to be an ill-omen, and for those walking to the sanctuaries it is not allowable for them to enter before being purified. Having come from such a sight it is unlawful to approach the gods, those responsible for life and truly those of all things to be in a state most foreign to corruption. And I still have not made the charge greater than these. And what is that? The sacred precincts and the temples of the gods are always open; often someone is sacrificing or pouring libations or making prayers within them, and those carrying the corpse pass close by the temple itself, and the voice of mourners and ill-omened words are carried even to the altars.

For an individual attempting to worship at the temple sites, the presence of the graves must have been most problematic. To approach the temple remains he would have had to pass through a cemetery, literally risking defilement at every step. If defiled, the devotee could not commune with the god; the graveyards could, in effect, sever his link with his deity. Even for the individual who only was observing the old temple grounds, the graves must have been troublesome.[66]

---

[65] Cf. Julian's law on burial (A.D. 363) *CTh* 9.17.5. For the text of this letter see Wright (1923) 190 n.1.

[66] See also Eunapios 459 where Iamblichos "sees" that a funeral procession had traveled along a certain road earlier in the day and thus switches (along with his students) to a different road.

These Christians did not, however, place the graves directly on top of or even very close to the temple foundations. We have seen that such behavior could not have been motivated merely by fear on the part of the Christians. To place a grave directly in sanctified ground would have been the ultimate act of defilement. When Babylas was buried in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphne, the oracle was silenced.[67] To bury in a sanctuary was to deconsecrate it.

This Christian group chose not to take this final step against the pagans. The burials were not placed directly upon the foundations out of "consideration" for the pagan members of the community. Why they chose to be so "considerate", we cannot be sure. The interference of the provincial governor on this issue, while possible, seems unlikely. But powerful members of the community, if they were sympathetic, could conceivably have exerted pressure to keep the burials outside the precincts. Similarly, if the non-Christian population was large enough, interference in the sanctuaries by Christians may not have been possible. The Christians may have feared violence if they pushed the others too hard.

The evidence is not sufficient to analyze fully the motives of these Christians in their treatment of the sanctuaries. It is clear, however, that some Christians were in conflict with the polytheist population; how large this group was, and whether they represented a faction or a majority, we cannot know. They choose to make a direct and strong, even threatening, public challenge at the Asklepieion and Temple E. An element of restraint was involved in the action, however, and such restraint can perhaps best be explained by the presence of a not insignificant non-Christian population in Corinth. That begrudging respect for active cult sites continued through the sixth century indicates that a portion of the population continued to practice openly ritual at the temple site.

The direct evidence for these ritual practices is limited to votive lamps at broken temples and a suggestion of continued sacrifice at the Asklepieion. Sacrifice was, of course, expressly forbidden in 391/2 by Theodosius I and the ban was repeated many times up through the reign of Leo III in the eighth century.[68] The repetition of such bans indicates that sacrifice was still continuing. But the penalties were harsh and large sacrifices must have become extremely rare as imperial and municipal support for these expensive rites decreased.[69] Libanios, in a passage of almost desperate pleading, profusely thanks Theodosius I for allowing the offering of incense and other non-sacrificial items at the temples.[70] He even suggests, although never going so far as to elaborate, that even preserving the temples for viewing would provide some satisfaction for those who were not allowed to worship in the manner they chose. Votive lamps, perishable cakes and small offerings probable formed the cultic assembly of many devotees in late-antique Corinth, perhaps supplemented by an occasional cock for Asklepios.

---

[67] Sozomen 5.19; Philostorgius 7.8; Theodoret *H.E.*. 3.6-10; Chrysostom. *Εἰς τὸν μακαρίου Βαβύλον καὶ κατὰ Ἑλληνῶν* 80-117; Libanios *Or.* 60 [Fragments from Chrysostom]. Cf. Malalas 13.19.

[68] *C.Th.* 14.10.10; 14.10.11, 14.10.12. Cf. *C.Th.* 16.10.13 (A.D. 395), 16.10.14 (A.D. 396), 16.10.22 (A.D. 423), 16.10.25 (A.D. 435); C.J. 1.11.7 (A.D. 451), 1.11.8 (A.D. 455), 1.9.10, 11.10 (A.D. 528/9); Novellae 37.6 (A.D. 535). Harl (1990) discusses the great change in Late Roman society that must have occurred with the cessation of public sacrifice.

[69] See Trombley (1993) 3-10 on late antique sacrifice.

Just as it would be imprudent to generalize for the entire Christian and non-Christian population from these instances, likewise it must not be assumed that all temples were treated alike. I offer one contrary example. Directly in the foundations of Temple F, a Christian burial, probably of the fifth or sixth century, provides an exception to the burial pattern described above (Figure 14). It may be that Temple F had gone out of use earlier than Temple E and the Asklepieion and the site had lost its sacred nature. Or perhaps the Christians managed to take their burial program one step farther and defiled the site of this temple. The exact reason cannot be determined, but the grave in Temple F is important for it reveals that the situation was fluid. While general patterns can be discerned, the conflict was complex, varied and site specific.[71]

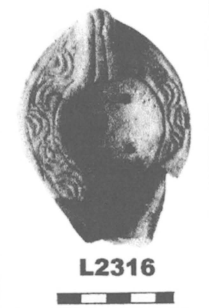


Figure 14: Lamp from Temple F.

At the same time that devotions, presumably for Asklepios, were being performed on the now defunct temple site, devotions of a Christian nature were being performed nearby not only at the graves but also in a springhouse that had been converted into a memorial chamber. In the southeast corner of the courtyard, at the bottom of the access ramp, is a springhouse. Built during the Hellenistic period, this springhouse, of a type typical to the region, was cut into the marl and equipped with a barrel vaulted roof; the walls and ceiling of this chamber were coated with waterproof cement. The rear end of the chamber was cut down to provide a basin for the collection of water that today still trickles from the corners of this cavern, and a channel was cut along the west wall of the chamber that joined with the main drainage system of the courtyard. A flight of nine steps allowed access to this basin. This springhouse continued to function and underwent a slight modification to its entryway during the Roman period. Coins found in the joint between the drain channel in the springhouse and the main drainage system of the courtyard indicate use of the elaborate drainage system continued through to the early or perhaps even mid-fifth century or our era.[72]

---

[70] Libanios, *Or.* 30.7-8, see above. Theodosius, of course, banned all offerings shortly after Libanios' thanks (*C.Th.* 16.10.2). *Pace* Harl (1990) 10-11; sacrifice was the preferred way of worship for public cults. Harl overestimates the effect of the ban and underestimates the ability of worshippers to survive the ban, as evidence by Libanios. More importantly, other means of worship, especially votive offerings, had always been available. The late antique literary record is biased towards discussing sacrifice for it was the most visual and enjoyable means of celebrating public cult. We might not, however, want to see sacrifice as the center of all cult activity. Julian, certainly, was obsessed with it as such (Amm. Marc. 22.5.2, Libanios, *Or.* 17.12C). But Julian could afford to sacrifice as often as he pleased; the rest of the population sacrificed rarely, as such an expenditure was difficult for the private man's budget. Sacrifice was the event *par excellence* in public cult; it played a far smaller role in private devotion. Private devotion focused on votives, prayers and offerings. See Stambaugh (1978) 579-80; Van Straten (1981) discusses votives in the Greek period.

[71] Temple F: the grave was that of a young adult, presumably female, and an extremely young child. A bronze ring (MF 4931) was found in the grave. L 2316 (late fifth-mid sixth century) was found near the tile-lined grave; it presumably was an offering at and thus dates the grave, but this is uncertain: Corinth Notebook 140, 167. The early Christian graves at the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary (Bookidis (1972) 284 and personal communication) are located on the lower terrace and perhaps middle terrace (although these graves may be later). Their placement fits the general pattern as they are close to but not in contact with the upper terrace and the most important cult buildings.

By the fifth and sixth the floor of the springhouse had risen, as had the level of the courtyard. Three new steps were added to the already existing flight of nine. On each side of the doorway a large cross, and several smaller crosses were inscribed, presumably in this period.[73] The floor of the springhouse in this later period was a strosis of yellow trodden earth. The large reservoir at the rear of the springhouse was reduced to a small basin at the southwest corner of the springhouse and the side channel was deliberately blocked to raise and maintain the water level in this small basin. Sunk into the floor of the springhouse, with their covers at floor level, were two graves. One was a standard tile grave, the other was a tomb built of rough stones and covered partially with tile and partially with a slab.[74] No grave goods were found. The graves were carefully placed in the floor with the closure of the graves being flush with the floor surface. The springhouse was thus converted to serve as a memorial burial chamber.[75]

Seventy-four almost complete lamps were found in the springhouse (Figure 15). Five of these lamps are earlier than the period than we are concerned with here, but the remaining sixty nine form a remarkably homogeneous group and date from the early fifth to the mid-sixth century, with one late sixth or seventh-century exception.[76] All the lamps are complete or nearly complete, and all except the possible seventh century lamp show burning at the nozzle. The lamps were brought into the memorial chamber and left as dedications, never to be used again. This practice of leaving dedicatory lamps at graves (especially those of martyrs), and the resultant discovery of a large number of complete lamps by archaeologists, is well attested by the cemetery in and around the site of the Asklepieion.[77] The

---

[72] 33-250 Theodosius I, 33-253, 33-254, 33-255, 33-256 Arcadius, 33-251, 33-252 Honorius, 33-257 Theodosius II, 33-258 is an illegible barbaric issue, 33-259 and 33-260 are illegible.

[73] These graffiti were identified by T. E. Gregory. One might compare the crosses inscribed on the Agora Gate at Ephesos, on the door jambs of the south and north tunnels of the temple of Apollo at Didyma, on the monumental gate at Stratonikea, the gate of the temenos of Aphrodite and the skene entrance to the theater at Aphrodisias.

[74] On the general history of the springhouse see Roebuck (1951) 99. DeWaele (1940?) 205 and Corinth Notebook 126, 119 reports that the built tomb in the springhouse contained the fragmentary skull of a child. The notebook indicates, however, that the remains were too fragmentary to allow for proper identification.

[75] See Gregory the Theologian, *P.A.* 8.118 for a description of a tomb chapel.

[76] The five early lamps are L 2460 (sixth century B.C.), L 2462 (Hellenistic), L 2609 (50 B.C.-A.D. 50), L 2620 (50 B.C.-A.D. 50), L 2650 (third century). L 3020 is possibly seventh century. All of the other lamps are late Korinthian imitations with four exceptions: L 2721 (400-450 cf. *Agora* VII, no. 2501), L 2727 (400-450 cf. *Agora* VII, no. 2727), L 2865 (400-450 cf. *Agora* VII, no.2777), L 3009 (late fifth-early sixth century import?). The late Korin-

---

thian imitations are L 2673 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2690 (early fifth-middle sixth century), L 2716 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2728 (early sixth century), L 2762 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2763 (early fifth-middle sixth century; cf. Wiseman (1968) pl.15), L 2765 (early fifth-middle sixth century), L 2767 (early fifth-middle sixth century), L 2779 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2780 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2782 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2796 (middle fifth-early sixth century), L 2797 (middle fifth-late sixth century), L 2798 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2799 (late fifth-early sixth century), L 2800 (middle fifth-early sixth century), L 2806 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2812 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2825 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2856 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2876 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2887 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2892 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2900 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2930 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2939 (middle sixth century), L 2947 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 3010 (fifth century), L 3018 (middle sixth century), L 3021 (middle sixth century), L 3030 (middle fifth-late sixth century), L 3031 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3033 (middle sixth century), L 3034 (middle sixth century), L 3036 (middle sixth century), L 3042 (middle sixth century), L 3043 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3045 (middle sixth century), L 3048 (middle sixth century), L 3049 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3050 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3051 (middle sixth century), L 3052 (middle sixth century), L 3054 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3063 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3067 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3068 (middle sixth century), L 3070 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3072 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3080 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3082 (middle sixth century), L 3086 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3087 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3088 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3097 (middle sixth century), L 3098 (middle sixth century), L 3099 (middle sixth century), L 3100 (middle sixth century), L 3101 (middle sixth century), L 3102 (middle sixth century), L 3103 (middle sixth century). L 2653, L 2781, and L 2792 could not be located. For photographs of some of these lamps see Roebuck (1951). Pl. 67, 2 and 3. On late Korinthian Imitation lamps see Garnett (1975) and Slane (1990) 21-22.

Lamp 3020 is a Korinthian imitation of a Syrian lamp. The lamp is a miniature (length 0.055m) with a cross on the handle and shows no signs of use. For the Syrian originals see Bailey (1988) Q 2345, Lyon-Caen (1986) 141, Kennedy (1963) 87 [Type 20], and Waagé (1941) 67 [Type 52, esp. no. 160]. Dates for the lamps are not secure. Lyon-Caen suggests sixth-seventh centuries, Kennedy fifth-sixth centuries, and Waagé fifth-early seventh centuries. Waagé notes that Christian symbols are rare. To the best of my knowledge, Syrian lamps and imitations thereof are otherwise unknown in Corinth. That the lamp is an imitation is certain by the characteristic fabric and sloppy mold join. That this imitation does not appear in the Fountain of the Lamps deposit perhaps indicate that its production began only after the Fountain of the Lamps collapsed in the second half of the sixth century. I therefore date the lamp to the late sixth or seventh century. One should note, however, that there are no other examples of Korinthian imitation lamps later than the Fountain deposit.

[77] On the dedication of lamps see Nilsson (1950). Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 6.2 mentions lamps offered to the dead and Hieronymus, *contra Vigilantum* 4, 7:23 (Migne 342, 346) notes lamps offered to martyrs. On lamps and candles, see also Lushforth (1915). Julian *Contra Gal.* 339E-340E reports that Christians lodged in tombs and caves for the sake of dream visions. The memorial chamber would have been a good location for such activity and one may wish to speculate that the large number of lamps may be related to special activity such as that Julian describes. That the memorial chamber might be a martyrium should be given serious consideration. See Trombley (1993) 139 for martyr shrines in sanctuaries.

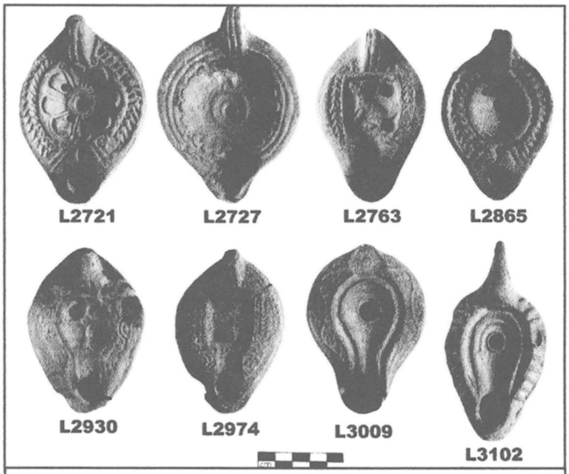


Figure 15: Lamps from Springhouse.

majority of the lamps were found in the west channel, but some were also found on the floor or in the floor debris. It appears that during periodic cleaning of the chamber the lamps, which could not be re-used because of their dedicatory nature, were discarded in this side channel.[78]

Lamps were no longer regularly left in the springhouse past the middle of the sixth century. In the middle-seventh century the memorial chamber was converted to a chapel. Two small spur walls abutting and perpendicular to the east side of the chamber were installed. These walls correspond to the central and larger of three niches cut into the east side of the chamber. These niches show evidence of repeated plastering, and while red and blue plaster is visible, no design could be recovered. The spur walls served the dual purpose of supporting an altar table and, by means of post holes in the top, westernmost blocks, supporting a canopy that covered this altar table. The table top was discovered in situ and was decorated on both the top and the bottom. The top, exposed side was decorated with a small cross with interwoven lines surrounded by a triple circle joined in a guilloche manner. The bottom, underside was decorated with a cross inscribed within a circle. Opposite the altar table on the west side of the cavern was a low structure made of small reused blocks, presumably a bench.[79]

---

[78] DeWaele (1940?) 205 and Roebuck (1951) 168n.2 describe the lamp deposit as a fill that had accumulated over the Greek and Roman periods, admitting the large preponderance of later lamps. Some of the Broneer types listed by DeWaele and Roebuck do not appear in the deposit, however. DeWaele and Roebuck's explanation for the placement of the lamps is quite inadequate. They hypothesize that in the fifth or sixth centuries one of the larger water channels, perhaps the one southwest of the springhouse, was cleaned and the workmen collected all the lamps in the channel that had been left behind in earlier cleanings. DeWaele and Roebuck do not explain why the workmen would then dump these lamps into the newly remodeled springhouse.

[79] Springhouse: Roebuck (1951) 96-99, 196; DeWaele (1940?) 205-207, Corinth Notebook 136, pp.143, 162-164; Corinth Notebook 126, 117-118. The structure is incompletely published and I offer key dimensions here. The dimension of the tile grave are 1.20 x 0.40m, that of the tomb 1.40 x 0.35m. The altar table's preserved dimensions were 0.59m x 0.48m x 0.07m; its restored dimension were 0,90x 0.76 x 0.07m. I have been unable to locate the altar

Numismatic evidence dates the conversion to a chapel: two coins of Constans II (641-668) were found in the southwest basin, and a coin of the same emperor was found in the construction of the bench on the west side of the springhouse. The bench, in its latest form, dates to the mid-seventh century or later. The altar table probably was part of the same renovation and installed in the mid-seventh century or later. While the fill underneath the altar contained a lamp dating from the late fifth to mid sixth century, it is unlikely that the table dates this early. The sequence of events must be as follows: 1) the springhouse receives a new floor, the two burials are made and dedicatory lamps begin to be left. 2) An altar is installed, perhaps as early as the late fifth century, but more probably in the mid-seventh century. 3) A bench is built on the west side of the springhouse in the mid-seventh century.[80] Initially the chamber was a funeral vault where dedicatory lamps were left, and such devotional visits dropped off in the mid-sixth century. In the mid-seventh century the structure was converted to a chapel. Whether this chapel is a continuation of the fifth and sixth century dedicatory practices or a separate phenomenon cannot be determined from the available evidence.[81]

The small memorial chamber may have been for the use of a single family or family group rather than the community as a whole. While sixty-nine lamps is a sizable number, over a period of 150 years this is less than one lamp per year. The Fountain of the Lamps, which thrived during the same period, contained approximately 4000 lamps.[82] It is conceivable that the lamps could have been placed in the memorial chamber through the devotion of an extremely limited number of individuals; in any case, it was a far less popular and much smaller location than the Fountain of the Lamps.

The situation at the Asklepieion acts as a microcosm for religious interaction at Corinth. The temple had collapsed but individuals continued to practice their devotions in some limited but recognizable manner that included votive lamps and perhaps sacrifice. The Christians tolerated but challenged these devotions. Additionally, devotees of the temple and visitors to the graves and springhouse must have encountered one another. There can be no doubt that all knew what was happening; the close proximity of the graves and the Christian structure to the rituals at the temple

---

table slab (Inv. 1515); it is illustrated in Corinth Notebook 126, 85. The central niche is 0.80m wide and 0.60m deep and the side niches 0.60m wide and 0.30m. deep. The spur walls extended 0.60m from the central niche. The bench was 2.00m long and 0.40m deep. The width of the cavern at the central niche is approximately 1.40m and the dimension of the basin in the southwest corner are 0.50 x 0.50m with a depth of 0.40m. See Roebuck (1951), Pl. 24, 1 for the springhouse.

[80] DeWaele (1940?), 209 and Roebuck (1951) 169 both date the Christianization of the springhouse to the mid-seventh at the earliest on the basis of the numismatic evidence. The evidence of the lamps suggests otherwise.

[81] The coins in the springhouse: 33-217 under the bench, 33-247 and 33-248 in pool. The lamp under the altar was L 2930.

[82] Garnett (1975) 173. See Chapter VIII for this site.

site ensures that all were in close contact. The atmosphere seems to have been one of begrudging respect, underlain by hostile intentions.[83]

How the temples found themselves in such decrepit condition remains, however, to be discussed. As best as can be determined, all the temples in the Korinthia met their structural demise at the end of the fourth century. At Temple E and the Asklepieion, this was certainly the case. Such a date is strongly suggested for the temple at Isthmia, the Archaic Temple at Corinth, and the "largest temple in the Peloponnese."[84] No direct evidence exists for the other temples but these structures probably had fallen by the end of the sixth century. An almost immediate process of robbing, recutting and lime-making began at the temple sites; all the temples, with the exception of some of the monolithic columns of the Archaic Temple, were completely razed to the ground within a very short period.

The sudden and complete demolition, simultaneous for all the temples in the Korinthia, cannot have been the result of gradual decay. Instead, it must have resulted from decisive actions. One is given the impression that the utter demolition of all of these many structures was too absolute and too sudden to have been the work solely of human hands. At other temples plundered or even "attacked by Christians" the damage is not as extensive as that in the Korinthia; in general the plundering of monuments is a long process that never reaches a clear end. Indeed, temples often were reused rather than demolished, for purification (if deemed necessary) and remodeling was much easier and practical than complete demolition.[85]

Another agent can be contemplated: a series of devastating earthquakes in the second half of the fourth century. Many structures, of course, survived these earthquakes and had survived earlier earthquakes, including that of A.D. 77. Numerous buildings besides the temples were affected by these this seismic activity, but the temples fared by far the worst. These temples were severely damaged or even shaken to their foundations; blocks littered the grounds around them. There was no attempt at restoration. Rather, the stones were almost immediately put to reuse, cut down or turned into lime.

Other buildings also were damaged, and the temples had withstood earthquakes before. Why then were the temples so severely damaged when other structures were not, and why were they not rebuilt? Perhaps the temples were already in a state of decay when the earthquakes struck. If, during the third or fourth centuries the general maintenance of the temples had been neglected, they might have been unstable. We know that repairs were made to many structures, some of them funded by the emperor. The temples probably were not repaired, and thus were already weakened when subsequent earthquakes struck.

---

[83] Cf. the Forum at Cosa which, in the fourth century, featured a church, a Mythraeum and a Shrine of Liber Pater all in close proximity. The shrine of Liber Pater, which functioned as late as the end of the fifth century, may have been destroyed by the Christians, but the evidence is ambiguous at best. See Collins-Clinton (1977).

[84] For Isthmia, see Rothaus (1993) and Chapter V.

[85] Frantz (1965); Spieser (1976); Deichmann (1936). Cf. especially the Asklepieion at Athens which was violently attacked and extensively damaged by Christians yet survived in part and was re-used as a Christian church, and Nemea, where the demolition took a long time and was never completed; Miller (1986).

Restoration of the temples certainly was a possibility, despite imperial legislation. The temple of Zeus at Apamea was destroyed by zealous Christians in the late fourth century, and a limited restoration was immediately undertaken.[86] But Corinth was far from and very different from Apamea. Imperial legislation against temples was not a deciding factor, for it counted only as far as the provincial governor wished to enforce it. Often regional civic and church leaders, usually bishops, held great influence, and they could encoürage or discourage the governor to act, thus complicating the legal issues. Obviously no such restorations of the temples occurred at Corinth; if we wish to know why we must look at Corinth herself.

A lack of financial backing must have played a significant role. Buildings in late-antique Greece were usually funded by wealthy individuals or by the provincial governor. Given the religious enthusiasms of the emperors, it is doubtful that any (except Julian, of course) would have suffered a provincial governor to use imperial funds for the reconstruction of an edifice whose main purpose was to house pagan cult, unless conversion was also part of the renovation of the temple.[87]

Wealth and wealthy individuals were, however, far from absent in the third through sixth centuries in Corinth. With imperial funds ruled out, responsibility for the maintenance and repair of the temples would have fallen to the affluent citizens of Corinth. They, however, choose not to invest in or contribute to the temples. To determine the motivation of others is one of the most difficult tasks the historian can undertake. This is true when primary sources and even the writings of the individuals being examined are available. For Corinth we have no documents; we do not even know many names. So any attempt at ascertaining why the local aristocracy chose not to support the temples can never be more than speculation.

Speculation can be well reasoned, however, and can perhaps approach probability. We do know, in general terms, a primary motivation behind benefactions in antiquity: self-advertisement. Euergetism was a strong tradition in the classical world and played no small role in the maintenance of both the physical and social structures of the city. But euergetism was more than "good works;" the works had to be visible and laudable.[88] If temples were seen with contempt or ignored by a large portion of the population, or if social pressure from the Empire made involvement with temples undesirable, then the euergetes would focus their attention elsewhere. While it is doubtful that the population of Corinth was predominantly Christian in the late fourth century, there can be no doubt that Christianity was the preferred system of belief in the Emperor's social circles.[89] The euergetes in the late Empire had to please both the people and the Emperor (or Imperial staff) to maintain their position. Involvement with temples could have been most risky.

---

[86] Theodoret, *H.E.* 5.21; Herington (1958) 30-62.

[87] Cf. Malalas (13.39 [345]) who comments that Theodosius converted the temple of Artemis in Constantinople into a *tabloparoxion.*

[88] See Leibeschuetz (1959) for the transformation of the Council and thus the liturgical system.

The growth of villas and basilicas in the Korinthia signify one area where the euergetes may have been satisfied.[90] The growth of villas in the fourth century represented a new focus of financial interest and expenditure. Traditionally the growth of villas has been pointed to as an indication of the removal of the upper classes from urban life and the growth of manorialism. As demonstrated above, this was not the case in Corinth. The growth of villas presents a new mode of consumption and display.

Nevertheless, the rise of villas did not drastically modify the face of the city. The center of the city was not neglected, and monumental architecture continued. The forum was reorganized and a new central staircase installed in the fifth century. The great bath on the Lechaion road was remodeled in the sixth century, and the fountain of Peirene received an elaborate restoration. But these restorations and constructions are minor compared to a new building program of the fifth and early sixth centuries. The area around the city was punctuated by new and elaborate Christian basilicas in this period. Corinth was not impoverished, nor had euergetism died out. Benefactions and restorations continued, but "new" temples, not the "old" ones, were the focus of the work, and this important transition in the city is the subject of the next chapter.

The temples of the Korinthia were damaged and destroyed at the end of the fourth century of our era. The initial culprit was seismic activity, but the neglect of man before the event and the demolition activity of man after the event were the substantive reasons behind the collapses of the pagan temples. Some individuals, nevertheless, viewed the cluttered foundations of the once proud monuments with religious awe and continued to worship there. Their cult activity was restricted by the decrepit state of the temples and the anti-pagan legislation, but activity continued. The primary action seems, from the incomplete archaeological record, to have been the offering of votive lamps, and an at least occasional sacrifice may have taken place at the Asklepieion. Even as the physical and civic structure of the city changed and public pagan cult become difficult at best, the population adapted and managed to continue the old traditions in modified forms. Cult ritual continued at the temple sites until the end of the sixth century when the archaeological material at these locations comes to a marked halt;

---

[89] Cf. Gregory Nazianzen 1.76 where it is strongly implied that Christians were a minority. Cf. Trombley (1993) 223-30 on the small Christian population at Gaza, although this certainly is not a good parallel for Corinth. Harnack (1908) 133 posits a predominantly Christian population for Antioch, but this is uncertain.

[90] Rothaus (1994).

whether this break truly indicates a break in cult activity or represents a problem in the archaeological record cannot be determined at this point.

Some of the Christians of Corinth were well aware of the ritual activity at these old temple sites and attempted to counter it. Without carrying out the final act of desecration, the Christians buried just outside these active cult sites in order to advertise the pre-eminent position of Christianity and to threaten the cult places with contamination from corpses. The action was contentious, perhaps even hostile, but there are no clear indications that the situation in Corinth ever developed into one of violence. Indeed, the continued cult activity at the old temples for almost two hundred years indicates that the religious transformation of the population of Corinth proceeded slowly; so slowly, in fact, that we must think not in terms of sudden conversions but long periods of peaceful cohabitation and interaction.

CHAPTER FOUR

KENCHREAI, EASTERN PORT OF CORINTH

Kenchreai, the eastern port of Corinth, served both the city and much of the Peloponnesos (Plan 6).[1] Near the diolchos, on major roads, and fifteen kilometers away from the premier city of Roman Greece, its economic (and perhaps social) role must have been great. Located on the Saronic Gulf, this counterpoint to Lechaion (the port on the Gulf of Corinth) is located some seven kilometers south of the modern Corinth canal and the ancient diolchos. Kenchreai controlled Corinth's eastern trade, and the preponderance of eastern fine wares in the Korinthia re-affirms the eastern-looking tendencies of the late-antique Korinthia.[2]

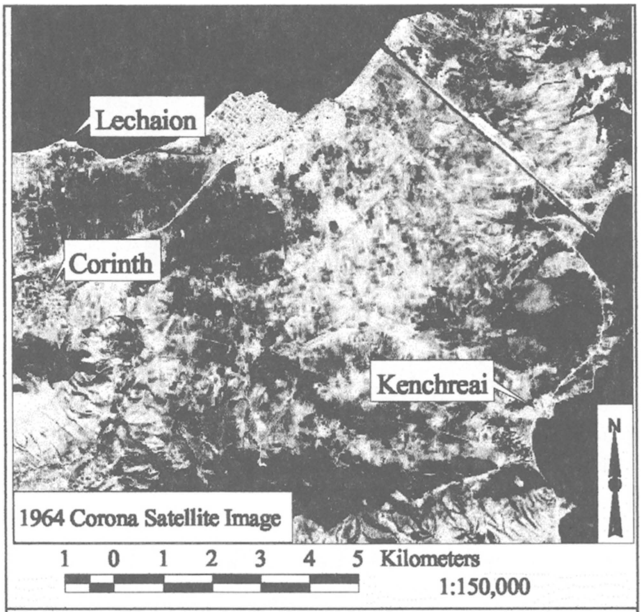
While the exact size of Kenchreai remains unknown, it must have been a sizable urban node, perhaps similar to Piraeus or Ostia. The scale of the settlement may be indicated by the presence of graves to the north of the harbor, and these graves confirm the urban nature of Kenchreai. One-kilometer northeast of Kenchreai, a mid-first to early-second century tomb has been excavated. This tomb, which also was along the Isthmia-

---

[1] This chapter and all my work on Kenchreai has been made possible by and must be a tribute not only to the meticulous work of Prof. Scranton and those associated with the excavations, but also their dedication to academic freedom and access to material. While my work may seem, at times, to consist largely of negative reviews, the disagreements are those of interpretation or based on knowledge not then available. The material at Kenchreai has proven to be so rich and important that several years would be needed to re-evaluate it. Beyond questions of interpretation, this chapter contains only preliminary observations. My descriptions and interpretations are drawn from my own investigations of the excavation notebooks and archaeological material except when otherwise indicated. Sadly, Prof. Scranton passed away before I could discuss much of my work with him.

Excavations have been conducted jointly by the University of Chicago and Indiana University under the direction of R.L. Scranton and under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Some additional excavations have been conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service. For excavation reports see Scranton (1964), Shaw (1967a and b), Scranton (1967), Shaw (1970), Scranton (1976), Cummer (1971), Ibrahim (1976), Scranton (1978), Hohlfelder (1978), Adamsheck (1979), Williams (1981), *Deltion* 31 (1976) B1 97-102, 35 (1980) B1 106-8. For earlier description of the site see Negris (1904), Lampakes (1907), Georgiades (1907), Lehmann-Hartleben (1923), Fowler (1932) 71-5, and Orlandos (1935).

[2] Williams (1981) notes that the distribution of Asia Minor lamps at Kenchreai is markedly higher than that at Corinth. A study of the ceramics with particular attention to what the ceramics may reveal about trade is projected for the future.


Lechaion
Corinth
Kenchreai
N
1964 Corona Satellite Image
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 Kilometers
1:150,000

Plan 6: Harbors of Corinth.

Kenchreai road, may indicate the northern boundary of the early Roman settlement. An apsidal structure with several adjoining rooms was found in close proximity to the early Roman tomb.[3] A late Roman burial was present in the floor of one of these rooms. The exact nature of this structure has not been determined, but it seems likely that it is a mausoleum either built or reused in the late Roman period, or perhaps even a funeral chapel.[4]

Less than half a kilometer north of the harbor, several early Roman tombs are located along the coastline.[5] These indicate the already obvious eastern coastal limit of Kenchreai north of the harbor. These tombs probably lay along the coast road evidenced at Loutra Elenis half a kilometer south of Kenchreai.[6] While there are no indicators of the southern and western boundaries of Kenchreai, the urban center could easily have continued past Loutra Elenis and a considerable distance to the west as well. These limited indications of the size of Kenchreai confirm a conclusion obvious from Kenchreai's importance and distance from Corinth. Kenchreai was not a small harbor town, but a substantial urban area with good access to agricultural land.[7]

---

[3] See Cummer (1971) for the early Roman tomb, Scranton (1967) 185-6 for the other structures. Hawthorne (1965) 197 identifies the structure as a Christian church. This is a possibility, but seems unlikely given what little bit has been revealed of the plan.

[4] Scranton (1978) 6-7 mentions a "fortification" wall approximately 500 meters north-east of the harbor (E 2460/N15100) that may also mark a boundary of the city or may be a trans-Isthmian wall. The wall and associated structures to the west seem to have been Greek, and a late Roman burial was placed in the position of one of the robbed out blocks. For the trans-Isthmian wall see Wiseman (1963) 255-56, 248-71and (1978) 60-3. Scranton (1978) 8 also mentions Hellenistic sherds (E2150/N 14850) and an unpublished archaic inscription about 200 meters northwest of the harbor. I have not examined these structures and sites.

[5] Scranton (1978) 11-12.

Pausanias' description of Kenchreai is brief and rather uninformative (2.2.3):

> At Kenchreai there is a temple of Aphrodite, and a statue of stone as well, beyond this, on the mole in the sea a bronze statue of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbor a sanctuary of Asklepios and Isis.

From this description we can be sure only that the sanctuaries and statues he mentions were there when he visited. Kenchreai was, of course, a large harbor and would have been crowded. Pausanias' description is neither meticulous nor detailed and cannot be used to identify the structures excavated at Kenchreai. Placement is uncertain and his prepositions are vague. The best that can be determined is that a temple of Aphrodite was at one end of the harbor, the sanctuary of Asklepios and Isis at the other. Attempts to identify the excavated structures on the basis of Pausanias' topographical description are weak at best.

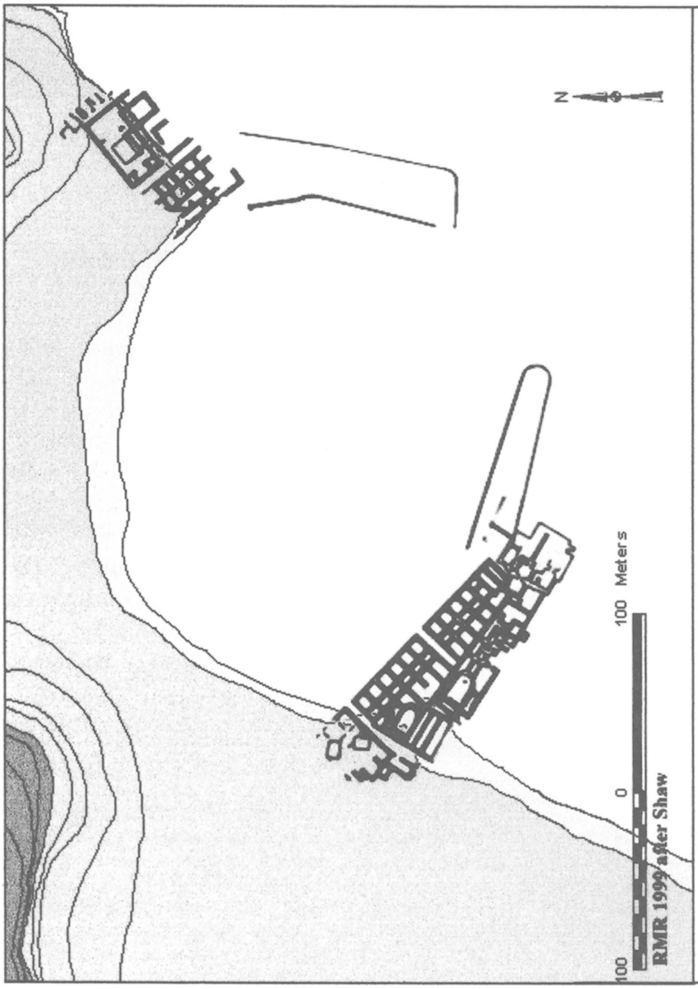
At the northeast end of the harbor a large brick building, extremely well preserved, has been excavated.[8] The structure, appropriately if uninspiringly called the "Brick Building," was constructed near the end of the first century of our era. Associated although not originally joined to this structure was the "south Building," a large, perhaps peristylar, courtyard. These two buildings underwent a major renovation in the late fourth century and were joined. The result was a large unified structure with a peristyle

---

[6] Scranton (1978) 2, 11-12 for the road. Wiseman (1978) 52-3 reports late Roman sherds at Loutra Elenis.

[7] See Rothaus (1994) and Chapter II for the relationship of Kenchreai and villas to agricultural land. The tendency has been to underestimate the size and diversity of Kenchreai. Strabo 8.6.22 refers to Kenchreai as *κώμη καὶ λιμήν*. Hohlfelder (1976) perhaps errs in referring to Kenchreai as a city, but Scranton's (1978) 88 characterization of Kenchreai as "plebeian and commercial" is overly simple. In the absence of more discrete information it is hard to know how to envision Kenchreai. Lechaion was much closer to Corinth and even inside the long walls in the Greek period and thus is not a good parallel. Piraeus is an obvious choice, but one wonders if Kenchreai might not have been even more independent and self-sufficient, perhaps in the style of Ostia. For the history of Kenchreai, with the adjustments made in this chapter and due caution, see Hohlfelder (1976). See Hohlfelder (1970a) for a description of early Imperial Kenchreai. To the sources cited by Hohlfelder must be added Julian *Ep.* 73 where he orders Maximinus to gather ships (the number to be revealed by the proconsul) at Kenchreai. The event should be related to Julian's 361 march West, but the ships may never have been gathered.

[8] Scranton (1978) 79-90. I have not completely examined the notebooks and ceramics for the excavations at the northeast end of the harbor and all conclusion presented here are, of course, tentative.


N
100
0
100 Meters
RMR 1999/after Shaw

Plan 7: Kenchreai.

courtyard, multiple rooms many paved with mosaics, a nymphaeum, and a large waterproofed room, apparently a pool.[9] While the structure was initially called the Aphrodision, this identification must be rejected. This building is, instead, a classic example of a Roman villa, a possible identification the excavators noted but unfortunately abandoned.[10] As such, it is outside the scope of this study and only the unpleasant task of refuting the identification offered by the excavators remains. The primary reason for identifying the structure as an Aphrodision is the text of Pausanias, and a desire to see the Isaeum on the other side of the harbor. As demonstrated, the limited excavations at Kenchreai and the cursory nature of Pausanias' description do not allow for identifications from this text. With the removal of any predisposition to see the structure as the temple of Aphrodite, the building must be evaluated solely on the basis of the archaeological material.

Pausanias refers to a *naos*, and we should expect a classical temple, readily identifiable in the archeological record. Scranton notes this, but argues that canonical temples of Aphrodite are rare in Greece and thus a more "oriental" structure might be expected.[11] A famous temple of Aphrodite was, however, close by and perhaps even visible on a clear day, from Kenchreai: the temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth.[12] Given the proximity of this classical temple of Aphrodite, there is no reason to expect any great divergency of form in a temple of Aphrodite at Kenchreai. It has also been argued that the figural ceramics, especially the lamps, found in the structure were suitable for use in a sanctuary of Aphrodite. While the preponderance of the material does indeed display "erotic, Dionysiac, gladiatorial and mythological themes that would at least be appropriate for the service of Aphrodite," this means nothing.[13] Most of the figural motifs to be found on ceramics and lamps in the Korinthia until the fifth century of our era fit these categories. Moreover, there is no evidence that the images on lamps were ever considered a factor in determining suitability for worship.

While there is no indication that the structure was a temple of Aphrodite, it follows the same basic plan as the vast majority of villas in the East and in the Korinthia. Scranton was aware of the similarity of the structure to other villas found in the region. He rejects the identification as villa in part

[9] The waterproof room is the northeastern most room; it is now at the modern coastline and has been partially destroyed by wave action. There is no evidence for a heated bath, but given the amount of the structure now submerged such a possibilty must be held open. The waterproof room was not noted by the original excvators. One might want to entertain the possibility that this was a pool fed by the sea. The large drains of the building certainly indicate that a large amount of water was being moved. F. Yegül and T.E. Gregory have discussed this room with me, but are not, of course, responsible for the interpretation. A fuller discussion of this structure as villa must await further research. For villas see Chapter II, Rothaus (1994) and Sodini (1984).

[10] Scranton (1978) 88.

[11] Scranton (1978) 89. Scranton uses parallels from Kourion and Byblos.

[12] Blegen (1930)

[13] Scranton (1978) 89.

because he cannot see such a "mansion if not palace" in the "otherwise plebeian and commercial atmosphere of Kenchreai."[14] But the structure is neither mansion nor palace, but villa, and Kenchreai was, as noted above, more than commercial. Extremely luxurious villas prospered at the port of Ostia, and closer to home, Piraeus; urban villas were not unknown, and in fact, were common.[15] There is no reason to consider the structure at the northeast end of the harbor to be anything other than a villa.[16]

Also problematic is the interpretation of the structure at the southwest end of the harbor as the sanctuary of Isis. Again, the primary reason to identify the structure as such is the passage from Pausanias, and we have demonstrated the unsuitability of the passage for this purpose. The southwest end of the harbor presents a complicated series of overlapping buildings, extremely difficult to figure out. The earliest buildings have been, for the most part, obliterated by later constructions, and do not concern us here. Of particular interest are the fountain courtyard and the *dromos*, which together form the elaborate nymphaeum, constructed in the second or perhaps third century. It is this structure that has been identified as the Isaeum.

A description of this fountain court and related structure has been published; while it is problematic in some cases, especially building sequences, there is no need to replicate it here.[17] The Nymphaeum is an apsidal construction, elaborately revetted, with mosaic floors, and a fountain centered in the apse. The apse is joined to a rectangular courtyard, apparently unroofed, and a collonaded entrance "hall." The apse and courtyard form what the excavators termed the "Fountain Court," and the Fountain Court, with the entrance hall, form a standard example of a Nymphaeum. An excellent parallel, also now submerged, is the Nymphaeum at Baia, Italy.[18] Beyond the information of Pausanias, there is scant evidence for the identification as a temple of Isis. The rectangular area south of and connected to the fountain court has been identified as the temple. No superstructure remains, only the walls of the "basement" have been interpreted as foundations for the "temple." There is no reason, however, to view the remaining architecture as part of a temple, and, in fact, one might question whether the walls of the "basement" could support a large superstructure. The rectangular area cannot, I think, be identified as a temple.[19]

---

[14] Scranton (1978) 88.

[15] Meiggs (1973) 47-49, 69-70. Ostia was, of course, much larger, but there is no reason to believe it was much different on character than Kenchreai. The Piraeus villas have not been published.

[16] Preliminary studies if this structure indicate that it underwent repair in the fourth century and seems to have been abandoned after 400 (although this date is not secure). A large lime kiln built in the structure dates to the middle sixth to middle seventh centuries and certainly provides a *terminus ante quem* for the domestic life of the structure. Cf. Scranton (1978) 85-7.

[17] Scranton (1978) 52-78.

[18] On Nymphea see Settis (1973). Baia: Zevi (1982), Zevi (1983). The Kenchreai nymphaeum has already been described (Scranton (1978) 53-78) and I will not review all of the finds. My focus is on chronology and those items that help identify the function of the structure. The building sequences at this end of the harbor are extremely complicated. Scranton's period plans (Scranton (1978) ill. 26-30) are no longer accurate. Roman ceramic chronology in the Korinthia is much better known now than when Kenchreai was dug; Scranton was forced to make decisions based on what he saw as probable sequences. A re-examination of the ceramics from the foundation trenches has revealed that many aspects of the building sequences need re-evaluation. Figuring out more accurate sequences is difficult and must await further study.

To bolster his interpretation, Scranton pointed out a broken column with an inscription: *OPΓIA*. Scranton offers the reasonable explanation that at one time the column read Isis Orgia.[20] This interpretation is not certain. It is possible that Orgia is a name, perhaps the dedicator (or in this case dedicatress) of the column.[21] The exact interpretation is not important here. As Scranton notes, the column was not found *in situ*, but rather in an adjacent early Christian basilica.[22] There is no reason to assume that the column came from the rectangular structure. I prefer, actually, Scranton's interpretation of the inscription, and it does seem likely that the column came from the temple of Isis.[23] Nevertheless, this does not tell us where the temple was, and given the incomplete nature of the excavations at Kenchreai, I prefer to assume that the temple remains undiscovered. The presence of the column in an early sixth century basilica, however, probably indicates that the Temple of Isis, like most other temples in the Korinthia, was destroyed and dismantled in the fifth century.

What then of the glass *opus sectile* panels, the most spectacular finds at Kenchreai? One hundred and twenty glass panels, still in their original wooden packing crates, were found where they had been deposited in the courtyard of the Nymphauem over a millennium and a half ago.[24] These panels are not only a striking find, but an important witness of late-antique art and society. The panels portrayed Nilotic scenes, geometric patterns and portaits of philosophers and imperial officials. The pictorial content of the panels rightly played an important role in the excavators' discussion of the function of this structure. Scranton remarks:

> Although it would be possible to interpret the panels in a secular context, or in a semi-religious, quasi-cultic contexts, they are certainly appropriate to the cult of Isis. The "Egyptianizing" characteristics, particularly the composition in zones, and the occasional Egyptian-like variations in scale within a scene, the swamp scenes, the human figures

---

[19] One might wish to compare the rectangular structures to each side of the Baia Nymphauem; Zevi (1983) plan 1 and 2. Unfortunately the plan at Baia is not fully known.

[20] Scranton (1978) 73. He cites *I.G.* 10.2.1, 103, cf. Witt (1971) 305n.2. This is not a common epithet of Isis.

[21] The phenomenon is well known. See for example Volusianus at Ostia: Meiggs (1973) 398-9. For the name cf. Orgius Messianus (*CIL* 13.1992), and Sex. Orgius (*CIL* 13.1462, 2608, 2609). No Greek or feminine version of the name is, to the best of my knowledge, attested.

[22] Cf. NotebookA2, p. 52. The column was found in the debris of the north corridor and presumably was in use there.

[23] Scranton's hypothesis that the letters PH inscribed on the column bases of the *dromos* represent the 108th year of the era of Diocletian and thus 392, the year Theodosius focused his attack on pagan cult, is insupportable. Scranton (1978) 77; Scranton (1976). I prefer an explanation also offered by Scranton: mason's marks.

[24] Scranton (1978) 68-70.

> in Coptic style in the swamp scenes, and some of the formal border patterns, are thoroughly at home in an Isiac atmosphere. The "portraits"--or depictions of statues--of Homer, Plato Theophrastus, and the other, similar but un-named individual, recall the statues of similar Greek sages in the Serapieion at Memphis.[25]

The description is apt, but given the absence of any significant reason to identify any excavated structure as the Isaeum, the panels cannot make the identification. Moreover, while possible, it is not necessary to associate the panels with the temple of Isis.

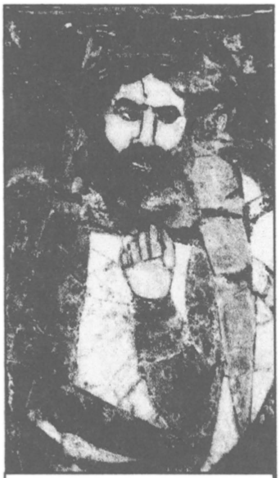


Figure 16: Homer.

The rejection of the identification of the excavated structure as the temple of Isis, as well as the disassociation of the panels from this temple do not lessen the importance of the panels or the fountain court. The structure was an elaborate and sumptuously decorated Nymphaeum, certainly worthy of note. While it may have been cultic, there is no convincing reason to see it so. The thematic content of the panels reminds us, however, that the connection between cultic and non-cultic decoration could be close indeed. The Nymphaeum is ultimately a testimony to the strength of paganism and pagan philosophers in late antiquity. To make such an argument, however, the structure and attendant material must be re-examined and re-evaluated.

The Nymphaeum itself was constructed, as mentioned above, some time after the second century of our era.[26] The structure was multi-level, with the fountain court being slightly sunken, descent provided by three steps. The cellar, to the southwest, was entered by a door and a set of descending steps in the southwest corner of the fountain court.[27] The floor of the apse itself was elevated c. 0.10meters above the level of the courtyard and decorated by a semi-circle of *opus lithostroton* broken by radial lines. At the center of the apse was an octagonal basin lined with marble. A lead pipe was fitted in the center of the basin, and a marble pedestal, with a vertical shaft was placed upon this. Water under pressure from the pipe flowed through the shaft to erupt in a fountain. Remarkably, little roofing material was found in the Nymphaeum; so little, in fact, that it is not certain that the structure was roofed.

---

[25] Scranton (1978) 73.

[26] The structure identified as Scranton (1978) 44-5, 53 as a possible shrine does not exist *per se*. The quadrangular niche of Scranton's period 3 seems more likely to have been part of the original warehouse construction. Most importantly the apse in the upper sanctuary does not date to the early Roman period but rather is part of a Byzantine re-use of the early Christian church. The actual building sequences for the area northeast of the Nymphaeum, which Scranton calls the Upper sanctuary are very different from those presented in the publication. This area will largely be ignored here as it was largely separate and apparently unrelated to the Nymphaeum.

[27] There is no evidence for the gates Scranton proposes at the southeast end of the cellar structure. Scranton restores the temple on top of the cellar, but this is unsupported by the evidence and architecturally unlikely, as some of the cellar walls would not have supported any substantial weight. Cf. Scranton (1978) 59-60.

The cellar never had more than a hard packed clay floor, a sure indication that it was not a public part of the Nymphaeum and probably never more than a work and storeroom.[28] The concrete walls of the cellar were coated with mortar, perhaps to be covered with plaster or revetment, but plastering a wall need not mean it was to be for "public" view. Another door was in the center of the southwest wall of the cellar, allowing access to the other areas of the pier. While there was no clear tile fall, the cellar fill contained numerous wooden beams and roof tiles and these probably were the chief constituents of the roof. The cellar was, at best, a storeroom for the Nymphaeum, but could have been a completely unrelated in function. This close juxtaposition of what must have been a strikingly beautiful Nymphaeum and a clay floored storeroom is a strong reminder that the Nymphaeum is not merely situated at the harbor, but situated literally in the middle of one of the piers, surrounded on all sides by commercial enterprises. Along the northwest end of the cellar and Nymphaeum ran a rectangular hall of which almost nothing remains.

Of particular interest are the colonnade and stoas to the northwest of the Nymphaeum. The central colonnade has been aptly dubbed the *dromos*. Building sequences in this area are complex, but it is clear that the floor of the *dromos* as well as the floor of the stoa to the northeast were laid in the third century.[29] This third-century structure is, therefore, a colonnade flanked by two stoas. The stoas must have been roofed, but the colonnade was probably left open to the sky.[30] The colonnade with flanking stoas presented an approach to the Nymphaeum that removed the visitor from the commercial centers of the pier and guided him into the Nymphaeum.

The Nymphaeum was constructed in the late second century or later; the *dromos* was added or at the very least redecorated in the third century. But at the end of the fourth century the Nymphaeum was struck by catastrophe. The sudden submergence of this structure, unfortunate then, has been most fortunate for modern archaeologists. The contents of the structure were captured and preserved, providing a unique and undisturbed view of the Nymphaeum and its contents in the late fourth century.

---

[28] The clay floor was laid shortly after the second century; pottery lots A1636, 1692

[29] *Dromos:* A 725A, A727; northeast colonnade: A178. The mosaic of the *dromos* was erroneously dated on stylistic grounds to the fourth to sixth centuries: Scranton (1978) 115. Scranton (1978) 62-3; 70-71 sees the development of the colonnade in two periods; I prefer to see one third-century reconstruction.

[30] Scranton (1978) 64-5 discusses possible means of roofing this structure. I have no solution.

The mosaic floor of the Nymphaeum was coated with a layer of mud (0.04-0.10m thick) which overlay and was mixed with shell and fragments of a substance believed by the excavators to be seaweed. The fill directly on the mosaic floor and this mud fill could not, understandably, be differentiated, and the mud was interspersed with clay, sand and gravel. This mud layer probably collected shortly after the seismic event when the entire structure was submerged. While it may represent debris and soil in the building before submersion, its composition strongly suggests that it was deposited by wave action after the structure was immersed. The material found in this stratum represents the material in the Nymphaeum at the time of the event. In the mud were the glass *opus sectile* panels and numerous fragments of sculpture, wood and ivory.[31] Also found was a pile of "miltos"--a polishing abrasive.[32] Among the wood was found a complete, though damaged, chair.

The glass *opus sectile* panels were found still in their wooden shipping crates leaning against the walls of the Nymphaeum. While possible, it is extremely unlikely that the panels delivered to and at least temporarily stored in the Nymphaeum were intended for installation elsewhere. Many, many warehouses, much more suitable for storage, were available and convenient. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that while the panels may not have been intended for the apsidal portion of the Nymphaeum, they were intended for somewhere in the structure. Where the panels were to be placed is a difficult question. Scranton has proposed that the panels were to be installed in the stoas along the *dromos*, and this seems likely and convincing.[33] Final discussion of the placement of the panels must await further study of the building sequences; but exact location is not important, only the knowledge that the panels were associated with and intended for some aspect of the nymphaeum. The interpretation of these panels will be undertaken when we discuss the function of the Nymphaeum.

The Nymphaeum, then, was in the process of restoration or redecoration when catastrophe struck. The glass *opus sectile* panels were along the walls, awaiting installation nearby. The date and nature of the catastrophe we will return to when we discuss the cellar. The material in the Nymphaeum indicates, however, that the catastrophe was sudden and final: the material was so damaged and recovery so difficult that the area was simply abandoned.

After the catastrophe, the Nymphaeum was used as a dumping ground. On top of the mud stratum was a layer of soft gray earth, filled with stones and tiles. This was debris thrown into the apse as part of a clean up after the submergence of the apse of the Nymphaeum. Pieces of sculpture, and wood furniture, some with elaborate ivory inlays were dumped into the structure.[34] This stratum of thrown debris is not datable, but seems to have come almost immediately after the deposition of mud. In fact, it was sometimes difficult for the excavators to tell from which fill certain items came. The sculpture fragments are particularly problematic. Do they represent sculpture broken *in situ* or broken sculpture dumped there?[35] In the dumped debris were, intriguingly, about a dozen *tegulae mammatae.* With the destruction of the superstructure of the Nymphaeum and nearby buildings, we cannot be sure where these tiles came from. It is conceivable that they were installed in the wall of the Nymphaeum to aid insulation, but perhaps there was a bath nearby.

---

[31] The mud layer can be dated by L324 (Williams 263) which dates no more precisely than the mid to late fourth century. Included in the debris was a wooden pulley block: Shaw (1967)

[32] Scranton (1978) 68.

[33] Scranton (1978) 70; Ibrahim (1976) 261.

Above the dumped debris a hard floor, perhaps of cement, was placed. While it is possible the floor was actually a natural accretion, it seems more likely that the area was leveled and surfaced to allow the use of the area for purposes unknown, but probably as part of the harbor system, as the area now projected into the water. Onto top of this floor a strosis of gray clayey soil, mixed with stones and bricks covered the area. The fill was extremely loose-packed and probably represents a natural deposition process; it certainly is not the remains of any collapsed structure. The ceramics from this fill are chronologically diverse, perhaps indicating a fairly long depositional period. The filling continued at least as late as the second half of the fifth century, and perhaps as late as the early seventh century,[36]

Another cement-like surface was placed on this gray clayey fill. The cement of this "floor" contained substantial ceramic material. Like the earlier cement surface, it is not clear how much of the cap was natural accretion, how much man made. This cement strosis was deposited in the sixth or perhaps early seventh century.[37] This date closely corresponds to the construction of the early Christian basilica at Kenchreai and it seem likely that the layer is another instance of levelling and surfacing to provide a usable area, perhaps related to the church, or perhaps as part of the harbor works.[38]

The history, although not the precise chronology, of the Nymphaeum is fairly certain. Built or modified in the third century, it was being redecorated at the end of the fourth century when catastrophe struck. The Nymphaeum was destroyed and partially submerged and there can be no doubt that seismic activity was responsible.[39] The Nymphaeum was used as a dump for a brief period and the area was then levelled and given a hard surface, perhaps in the early fifth century. No new structure was built and the area may simply have been used as part of the harbor. It is tempting to envision the paved area as a point from which good could be transferred from ship to shore. Debris gradually accumulated until a new program of leveling and surfacing in the sixth century, as part of the construction of the early Christian basilica. No substantial structure was placed on this surface, and this is the last time area of the Nymphaeum was used in any discernible manner.

---

[34] Wilma Stern, who is preparing the ivory inlays and wood furniture for publication, has informed me that three chairs with ivory inlays were thrown into the apse as debris in antiquity and do not seem to have been trapped *in situ.*

[35] The sculpture from Kenchreai, fragmentary and scrappy as it is, remains unstudied. Conclusions about the depositional history must await study of the material.

[36] A1218; 1227. Coin 1123, Constantius II (AD 351-361) (Hohlfelder 428) may be from this stratum.

[37] A1259, A1220, A1298.

[38] *Contra* Scranton (1978) 65 there is no need to see this cement strosis as part of a Christian chapel. There is evidence for some structure resting on this level surface, but the nature of this structure is quite unsure.

We shall return to the interpretation of the Nymphaeum, but first we must turn to the cellar adjacent to the structure, for the fill of this area further illuminates the history of the Nymphaeum. The cellar was caught in the same seismic disaster that submerged the Nymphaeum and it too was flooded. There was no recoverable depositional history for the fill of this room; the debris found in it seems largely to have been what was in the room when catastrophe struck. The cellar was filled with working materials and objects appropriate to restorative work. Additionally, the room contained a number of amphorae. Some of these were crushed by falling debris, others remained almost entirely intact. The cellar was a storeroom, used to hold working materials and also several amphorae.

The implication from the fill is that the cellar acted both as a storeroom for goods (the amphorae) and for material being used in the fourth-century restoration of the Nymphaeum. On the floor of the cellar were large quantities of marble tesserae, marble blocks from which to cut tesserae, grinding stones, marked but uncut or partially cut revetment, polishing material and numerous now unidentifiable wooden objects. The quantity and types of the material in the cellar suggests that far more than the fountain court was undergoing restoration. The mosaic of the fountain court was in fine shape at the time of the disaster and the tesserae could not have found a home there. It is likely therefore, that the renovation included more than the prettying up of the fountain court and the installation of the glass *opus sectile* panels. The Nymphaeum complex itself may have extended farther to the southeast, but the remains there are unintelligible today.

The ceramics in the cellar provide an extremely accurate date for the seismic activity that struck Kenchreai, and thus a *terminus ante quem* for the planned redecoration of the Nymphaeum. Several complete amphorae were found, including several splatter painted amphorae. These are known primarily from Kenchreai, but several examples have been found at Isthmia, especially a version substantially smaller than those found at Kenchreai. These splatter painted amphorae were associated with spiral grooved amphorae of a type extremely well known from Isthmia. Both amphorae can be securely dated to c. 400.[40] The ceramics in the cellar are remarkably uniform and provide a precise date for the seismic destruction.

---

[39] See Chapter II on seismic activity.

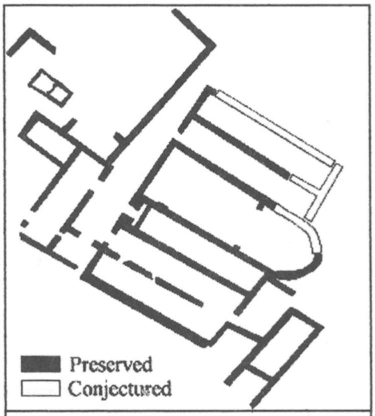


Figure 17: Kenchreai Basilica.

Well after the destruction of the Nymphaeum c. 400 a Christian basilica was constructed, reusing the colonnade and stoas as aisles.[41] But there was no continuity of cult activity. Cult, if there was any, at the Nymphaeum ceased with the destruction; the church was not built until 100 years after this event.[42] We shall return to the early Christian churches of the Korinthia in another chapter, but as I am offering a substantially revised dating and interpretation of the church at Kenchreai, I will present the evidence briefly here.

The determination of the phases and date of construction of the church is complicated by the multiple building sequences in the area.[43] The church was incorporated into earlier third-century structure or structures, including the *dromos* of the Nymphaeum. The *dromos* was converted into the second south aisle of the church, and the northern stoa into the first south aisle. As mentioned earlier, the floors of what were to become the south aisles were laid in the third century of our era. The packing beneath the floor of the first north aisle reveals that it too was laid in the third century.[44] While the evidence is unclear at this point, it seems probable that the area into which the church was incorporated contained a third-century structure, most of which was obliterated by later construction.

---

[40] The splattered painted amphorae are Adamscheck's RC10, the spirally grooved her RC 14. Adamscheck (1979) 133, 115 assigns both of these to 375 on the basis of the alleged 375 earthquake. *Contra* Scranton (1978) 75-6 there is no evidence for an 375 earthquake and thus Adamscheck's assigned date is irrelevant. At Isthmia the spirally grooved amphorae have been dated precisely to the years around 400 and may, in fact, be of local production. Similar to these and also found in the cellar is a courseware basin, also datable to 400 (A1701). Numerous fragments of amphorae of Robinson's M333 family were also found in the cellar, but these are not precisely datable, although it should be noted they often are found in association with the splattered paint and spirally grooved amphorae at Isthmia. This proposed dating of the coarse amphorae is confirmed by the presence of two African Red Slip (Hayes Form 50, Type B) ring foots dating to the second half of the fourth century (A1701). For the cellar ceramics see lots A1527, 1603, 1617/1625, 1631, 1651, 1656, and 1657. Coin 1116 (Hohlfelder 427), an issue of Constantius II (351-361) was found under much of the debris in the cellar, but is not extremely useful for dating purposes. CO 1272 (Hohlfelder 449) (cf. Scranton (1978) 75, Hohlfelder (1976) 226) an issue of Valentinian I or Valens (364-75) was found on the sill of the door connecting the cellar and the fountain precinct and provides a *terminus post quem* that correlates well with the ceramic evidence.

[41] Spiro (1978) 88-92 rejects the identification of the structure as a church. Her objections are based, quite reasonably, on the early date assigned to the structure (late fourth/early fifth century) in the initial publications. Spiro rightly points out that the plan of the church is not precisely paralleled in Greece, but the "early Christian" furnishings are substantial, and these, when combined with the burials and later Byzantine re-use of the structure make the identification certain. On the church see also Orlandos (1935) who ironically misindentifies the Nymphauem as a church as noted by Bon (1951) 7n.4. See also Pallas (1987-88), (1990), 785-87.

[42] Scranton (1978) 77-78 presents the church as replacing the temple of Isis. The redating of the basilica makes his argument impossible. Hohlfelder's (1976) 223-226 description of simultaneous pagan and Christian cult actvity at the port must likewise be rejected. There is no need to assume, as Hohlfelder does, any imperial involvement in the restoration of the "Isis temple." Nymphaea were always, at least nominally, cultic sites. The cultic associations were not so strong as to prevent Christian adoption of the architectural form. Of particular note, however, is the Lechaion nymphaeum (See Appendix A). This structure was at a late date redecorated with Christian symbols and this may, in fact, be a purification of a pagan cult site or pagan architectural form.

The basilica incorporated walls of the third-century structure, but extensive modifications, carried out in the sixth century, were made to the earlier structure when the basilica was constructed. The south and north walls of the nave and the north wall of the Narthex were installed in the sixth century as well.[45] Floor packing from the apse, atrium, and exonarthex all indicate the same construction date.[46] Two illegible sixth century coins from underneath the tile threshold of the door into the exonarthex provide a firm *terminus post quem* in the sixth century.[47] These coins do not provide a precise date for the structure, but the ceramics from the foundation trenches and beneath the floors are no later than the earlier sixth century. The ceramics and coins, therefore, indicate a construction date in the early sixth century.

The church, built in the early sixth century, collapsed in the early seventh century.[48] Substantial amounts of collapsed masonry and evidence of burning were found, especially in the exonarthex and it seems likely that the structure burned[49]. A coin of Justinian (558/9) in the burn layer of the exonarthex provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction, as does a deposit of 75 minimi found at a fairly high level in the destruction debris of the church. The latest coins of this hoard bear the monogram of Justin II (565-578).[50] If these coins were present in the church at the time of its collapse, as seems likely, then the collapse of the church must have come after 565. A sixth-century half-follis on the floor of the "waterproof room" confirms this *terminus*.[51] One seventh-century coin was found on the floor of the first south aisle, sealed by the destruction debris. This coin establishes a firm *terminus post quem* of the beginning of the seventh century for the collapse of the basilica.[52]

---

[43] The study of this church has just begun and this report is preliminary. While this account is incomplete, the dates presented here are secure. Publication of the full ceramic evidence must come at a later date.

[44] Lots A450, 556, 557.

[45] South wall of Nave: A127, A442, A443, A472, A475. North wall of Nave: A356. North wall of Narthex: A343. The ceramic evidence for the north wall of the nave and north wall of the narthex is not precise.

[46] Apse: A72, A73. Atrium: A617. Exonarthex A467 A712, A713.

[47] Co 493 (Hohlfelder 1095) 6th century follis; Co 494 (Hohlfelder 1113) 6th century nummus. Cf. Co 490 (Hohlfelder 633) Valentinian III (425-55) underneath the tile threshold of the atrium.

[48] Hohlfelder (1978) 4-5 suggests a destruction of Kenchreai and the church in 580 on the basis of the E deposit, A hoard and B Hoard. While fear of and actual Slavic incursions probably played a role in the placement and loss of these hoards, the archaeological evidence indicates the actual destruction of the church comes later. The continued functioning of this church in the seventh century must effect a major revision of the Slavic incursions into and their effect on the Korinthia. See Fine (1986) 40 for the alleged absence of seventh century churches in the Balkans. The Kenchreai evidence firmly demonstrates that Christianity did not "die out;" discussion of this issue must wait for further study

[49] NotebookAII, 73-5, 90, 93.

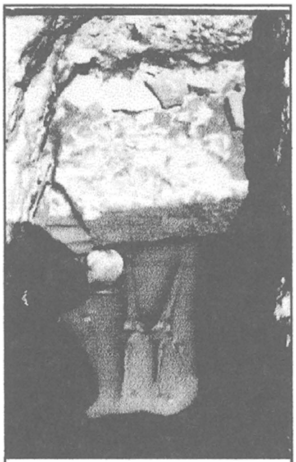


Figure 18: Kenchreai grave.

The ceramic evidence confirms a seventh-century *terminus post quem* collapse. The fill from the floor of the collapsed structure is very much like the fill from the footing trenches and a short life is indicated for the church. Material on the floors of the church, sealed in by the collapse of the roof and walls, contains much material dating from the fourth to sixth centuries of our era. Several ceramic items, however, cannot date any earlier than the seventh century, confirming a collapse in the seventh century or later.[53]

By fortuitous circumstance, a precise *terminus ante quem* exists for the collapse of the church. A grave was dug through the collapsed debris of the church using the floor of the second south aisle as its bottom. In this grave was a jug that dates to the first half of the seventh century. (Figure 18).[54] The grave, dug through the rubble of the collapsed church, must post-date the collapse. With a firm early to mid seventh century date for the grave from the grave offering, it is certain that the basilica collapsed before the middle seventh century. With a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* both in the early seventh century, there can be no doubt that the early Christian basilica at Kenchreai burned and collapsed in the early seventh century.

---

[50] Justinianic coin: Co 190 (Hohlfelder 1029). The minimi are Hohlfelder's Hoard A; the coins of Justin II are Co 564 (Hohlfelder 1085) and Co 565 (Hohlfelder 1087).

[51] Co 412 (Hohlfelder 1093).

[52] Co 489 (Hohlfelder 1164) seventh century follis; Co 168 (Hohlfelder 1004) Justin I or Justinian.

[53] Floor fill from the Nave: A193, A606, A585, A606, A607; the Atrium: A657, A658, A658, the so called water-proof room: A 659, A679, A780; 2nd S. aisle: A 121,A159, A542, A601; 1st S. aisle: A168, A173, A213, A216, A417, A553, A582; the Narthex: A415, A416, A500, A521; the Exonarthex: A517, A581, A607; the Kitchen: A593; the Anteroom: A660. The seventh century material appears in the form of body sherds from combed and, more significantly, banded-combed amphorae (Yassi Ada Type II) (A121, A157, A159, A193, A213, A415, A416, A517, A581, A582, A593, A606, A658, A659, A660, A780), coarse ware jugs with wave decoration patterns (cf Yassi-Ada p. 17-18, *Emporio* 179) (A121, A148), an African Red Slip Form 105 or 106 ring foot (AD 600-660) (A216), a Phocaean Ware Form 10 Type A (A660) rim.

[54] Grave 53; the jug P75 (Adamscheck RC 73) is visible in Figure 19 in the center left. This is the only photo of the grave interior from the time of initial excavation. Grave 53 was reinvestigated by the author with the assistance of Joseph Rife in 1994 and 1995. This included examination of unpublished notebooks, re-excavation of the grave, and removal and analysis of skeletal material. Adamschek (136n.34) cites Robinson M365 as a parallel for the decoration, but seventh jugs with grooved decoration from the Sophroniskos Street osteotheke

We must return, however, to the Nymphaeum. The *opus sectile* glass panels found in the fountain court remain a remarkable discovery.[55] Glass *opus sectile* was not uncommon in antiquity, but the preservation of so many large panels is unique.[56] The panels can be divided into four genres: formal, marine, Nilotic and heiratic. The formal panels display geometric, floral and architectural designs and are not of concern here.[57] The marine panels generally depict coastal buildings, fish, fisherman, and ships. These panels are panoramic and depict common scenes from a variety of perspectives.[58] The marine panels, while of great interest, do not address our immediate concern, pagan cult at Kenchreai and belong to a common artistic genre that warrants no discussion here.

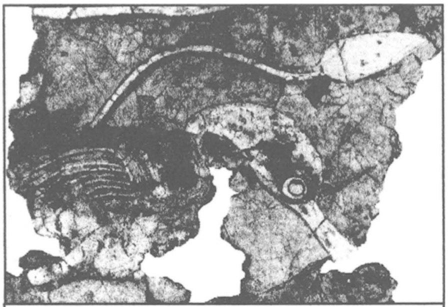


Figure 19: Bird from Panels.

Much has been made of the Nilotic scenes depicted in the panels.[59] These panels depict animals, birds and plants, all in a marshy landscape. As Ibrahim noted, the accurate portrayal of Nilotic plants that were often confused perhaps indicates an Egyptian artist, but this hypothesis is far from certain.[60] Scranton, while acknowledging the proposition that the panels may be purely decorative and have no deeper importance, argues that the marine and Nilotic scenes are an attempt to create a mythical landscape most suitable to the worship of Isis.[61] Nilotic scenes were extremely popular in the Roman period and especially late antiquity, however. The popu-

---

provide a better parallel (Robinson 84, 121). Thanks to G. Sanders for providing a consult on this jug and a few other pieces from the basilica.

[55] The panels have been published in meticulous detail by Ibrahim (1976) and my descriptions are based on her publication rather than personal autopsy; the interpretations are generally my own.

[56] See Ibrahim (1976) 262-265 for an partial catalog of similar pieces and literary references.

[57] Ibrahim (1976) 186-226.

[58] Ibrahim (1976) 57-120.

[59] Ibrahim (1976) 30-57.

[60] Ibrahim (1967) 33. One wonders if the manufacturers of *opus sectile* glass panels did not utilize copy books in the same manner as mosaicists.

[61] Ibrahim (1976) 266-7.

larity of these scenes, including the pagan mythological elements, continued well into the Christian period.[62]

The Heiratic panels become, then, the crucial items. Twelve different panels depict solitary human figures.[63] These twelve can be divided into two groups: depictions of human figures in ceremonial regalia, and depictions of statues of human figures and divinities. Two panels depict human figures, not statues, in official or ceremonial garments. These two are almost certainly consular figures, and could conceivably but not necessarily imply imperial involvement in the renovation at Kenchreai.

The majority of the figural panels represent statues, all presumably labeled although many of the identifications have been lost through damage to the panels. Four of these statues represent philosophers: Homer, Plato, Theophrastus, and one unknown. The panels displaying Homer and Plato are extremely well preserved, but must be viewed in reverse.[64] The philosophers are the largest and most elaborate figures, and were obviously intended to reign over the scene. The rest of the figural panels preserve only the lower portions so much less is known. All of these have figures smaller than the philosophers placed between flanking columns. Two panels show flying figures, perhaps Nikes or Nereids, but certainly divine or semi-divine creatures. Two panels exhibit draped figures, and two more preserve only the depictions of the pedestals upon which the figure would have perched.

The decorative devices exhibited by the figural panels are well known. The lesser, non-philosophic personages are to be viewed as statues resting in decorative niches.[65] These are secondary to the main decorative theme based on the philosophers and consuls. Does the overall decorative theme of marine and Nilotic scenes, consuls and statues of philosophers and deities indicate a cult site? Scranton has strongly argued that these images add up to a cult scene.[66] It has been proposed, as mentioned above, that the panels are quite well-suited to a cult of Isis. But given the lack of any evidence that the Nymphaeum housed the temple of Isis, the panels do not carry enough weight to indicate the contrary.[67]

The *opus sectile* panels of Kenchreai seem to represent a decorative scheme similar to that used at the Nymphaeum at Baia. The Baia Nymphaeum was built in the first century of our era, underwent renovation in the late third or early fourth century, and was finally abandoned in the fifth century.[68] Many *opus sectile* fragments were recovered, and the decorations included human figures and vegetation on a variety of colors. Eight niches were built into the sides of the structure; four statues were discovered where they had fallen out of these niches, and all the niches presumably held statues[69] The sculpture decoration included an Odyssean Cyclomachy, Antonia Augusta as Venus Genetrix, and Dionysus.[70] While the situation at Kenchreai is different, it is perhaps significant that the *opus sectile* panels portray statues, some of them in niches. Sculpture was an important aspect of many Nymphaea, and the Nymphaeum complex at Kenchreai may have been planned to include sculpture through depictions in the panels.

---

[62] For *comparanda* see Ibrahim (1976) 31n.8, 35n.22.

[63] Ibrahim (1976) 164-185.

[64] The panels were stored face to face and the seawater bonded those stored together. Only the reverses are now visible. Thus Plato and Homer have, through the forces of nature, been cojoined in a never-ending dialogue.

[65] Ibrahim (1976) 183-4.

[66] Ibrahim (1976) 266-7.

[67] Scranton argues (Ibrahim (1976) 268-9) that the panels cannot represent a Julianic revival but rather are evidence of the strength of pagan cult in the "eleventh hour," and the late date of the panels presented here confirms, at least, that they are not part of any Julianic revival. For sculpture in Nymphaea cf. Olympia (Schlief (1944)) and a massive bibliography that cannot be reproduced here.

If we treat the decorative scheme expressed in the *opus sectile* panels as a sculpture collection, the late-antique philosopher portraits of Aphrodisias present themselves as an obvious parallel. These portraits will be discussed in Chapter VII in the context of mutilated statues.[71] The Aphrodisias sculpture had once resided in a two-storied apsidal building with an atrium and large peristyle court. The plan is quite similar to the large houses found in Athens and identified, erroneously I believe, as philosophers' schools. The philosopher portraits were made in the fifth century and included Pindar, Alexander the Great, Alkibiades, Socrates, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Apollonius. The collection is, as Smith noted, distinctly Neoplatonic in nature.[72] Smith is willing to suggest, not implausibly, that the structure was part mansion, part Neoplatonic school.

What then of Kenchreai? We will later discussed the popularity of sculpture collections in late antiquity, as well as the willingness of some Christians to collect clearly pagan sculpture.[73] The *opus sectile* panels fit this trend remarkably well: the ever-popular Egyptian decorative motifs and depictions not just of philosophers and poets, but of statues of philosophers and poets.[74] The decorative theme could easily be acceptable in a Christian setting as well as a pagan one. The combination of Nilotic scenes, Homer, Plato and other philosophers, however, places one firmly into a Neoplatonic *milieu*.[75] It may very well be that the Nymphaeum at Kenchreai served as a Neoplatonic philosophical school. As mentioned earlier, Neoplatonic philosophers were active in the Korinthia and members and relatives of the local aristocracy seem to have been themselves Neoplatonic philosophers.[76]

---

[68] Zevi (1982) 137-42.

[69] Zevi (1982) 132-5. For niches cf. the "House of Proclus" in Athens, Frantz (1988) 43 n. 167.

[70] Zevi (1982) 142-56; Zevi (1983) 49-63.

[71] Smith (1990); see Chapter VII.

[72] Smith (1990) 151-2 with important *comparanda* including Kenchreai.

[73] Chapter VII.

[74] On the popularity of Egyptian themes, see Ling (1977).

[75] As noted by Scranton (Ibrahim (1976) 267).

[76] See Chapter II.

There can be no doubt there was a philosophical school in Corinth, although I am not of course, suggesting that the "school" Julian refers to was housed at Kenchreai.[77]

By no means do I imply that the Nymphaeum must be a "school" because it is a late-antique apsidal structure. Others, and I, have argued against this trend in interpretation.[78] We know, however, that philosophical schools and lecture halls did exist. Of all the sculpture collections uncovered only that of Aphrodisias matches Kenchreai in unity of its Neoplatonic theme. The combination of Homer, Theophrastus, Plato and the unknown philosopher, combined with the Nilotic themes is so overwhelmingly Neoplatonic that it must represent a planned program. The selection is too acute to be any random choice of famous philosophers and favorite "pastoral" scenes. This may mean only that the person who ordered the panels thought of himself as a Neoplatonic. The Nymphaeum, had it received its final decorative scheme, would have been, however, an ideal setting for Neoplatonic lectures. The possibility is strong, then, that the Nymphaeum was indeed a Neoplatonic philosophical school, located in the heart of Kenchreai.[79] This possibility may be strengthened by the remains of the wooden chairs found in the damaged structure. Were these chairs for students or the philosophers themselves? Whether the Nymphaeum was a philosophical school or not, the Neoplatonic decorative theme is a strong testimony to the late vitality of paganism and pagan thought.

In summary, the temples of Isis, Asklepios and Aphrodite at Kenchreai have not yet, I believe, been located. Ironically, this may, for the world of scholarship, be better than having located them. Meticulous attention was given to structures of extreme importance at Kenchreai. The villa at the northeast side of the harbor will, when fully studied, reveal a tremendous amount about not only the late-antique Korinthia, but also trade and society in the late Empire. The early Christian basilica has proven to be of extreme importance in the study of early Christian Greece. The Nymphaeum may have been a Neoplatonic philosophic school, and at the very least the adoption of such a "pagan" decorative motif for a central and highly visible structure demonstrates the acceptability and permeance of pagan traditions in the late-antique Korinthia.

---

[77] Julian Or. III (119C) implies that a philosophical school was active at Corinth.

[78] It should be emphasized again that the "Neoplatonic" character of the Aphrodisias structure and the Kenchreai nymphaeum is determined by their decorative schemes. The houses identified in Athens as philosophical schools, while architecturally suitable, do not have any discernible decorative programs. The architecture is, in fact, rather generic for the period.

[79] For the urban setting of the philosophical schools see Frantz (1988) 17-18 and works cited there, esp. Libanios *Or*. I.

CHAPTER FIVE

ISTHMIA AND THE ISTHMIAN GAMES

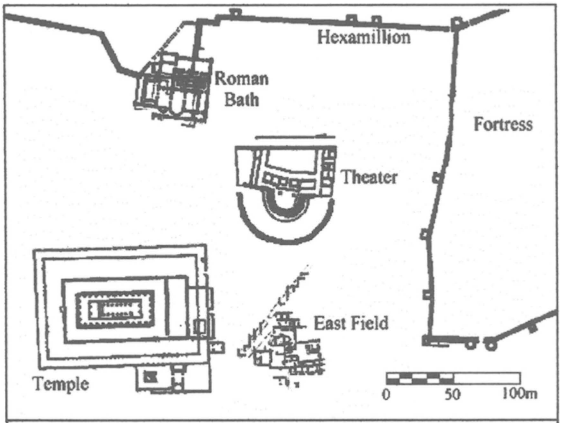
The archaeological evidence from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia indicates, it has been argued, that cult activity at this site ceased in the middle of the third century of our era[1] (Plan 8). Libanios makes a passing remark that indicates, however, that cult activity at the sanctuary continued into the second half of the fourth century.[2] This interesting scenario for the Korinthia, where we can compare explicit literary evidence with careful excavation results is disturbing. The conclusions of the two classes of evidence are difficult to harmonize, yet there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of the literary or the archaeological record. The disagreement is, perhaps in part, a result of the changing nature of cult in late antiquity. Cult activity may very well have continued at Isthmia, but in a form or a place that is difficult to identify in the archaeological record. We shall see, however, that evidence for substantial activity at Isthmia does exist, and the simplest solution, especially in light of the literary evidence, is that the activity was related to cult.

---

[1] Timothy E. Gregory, director of the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia, and Elizabeth Gebhard, director of the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia, have both read and commented on an earlier version of this chapter. Much of the Roman material from the University of Chicago excavations was under study when this chapter was written and I have not made a direct examination of this material, nor have I been able to incorporate some of the latest findings. Material from The Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia is also under study, but I have managed to review the bulk of it. I have benefitted from discussions of Isthmia with the directors, Frederick Hemans, John Hayes, Fikret Yegul and C.K. Williams II. The interpretations and errors are, of course, my own.

See Gebhard (1987/8) for the cessation of activity. P. Clement (Beaton [1976]) has argued that the sanctuary was closed by the edict of Theodosius I and sacked by Alaric. There is no direct evidence that the sanctuary closed as a result of the edict nor is the evidence for a sack or a cataclysmic destruction certain. Clement bases his argument for the sack on hoard of coins found east of the temple in which no coin later than 393 is to be found. One hoard need not indicate a sack of the sanctuary or even the presence of Alaric. See also Clement (1977) 135-7, (1975) 159-64. While Clement's argument for the destruction of the sanctuary is not conclusive, his dating of the Hexamillion is correct.

[2] The Isthmian games are mentioned by Eusebios, *Praep. Evang.* 2.6.10. While Eusebios may be referring to contemporary events, this is uncertain and thus this passage will not be used as evidence in this paper. Other late references to the Isthmian games that do not serve as witnesses of contemporary practice include Alex. Aphrodisiensis, *in Metaph.* 154; Asklepios Phil, *in Met.* 121, 122, 126; Clemens Alex. 1.2.34.1; 4.1.21.137.1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 273.8; Libanios, *Decl* 25.2.46; Photius Scr. Eccl., *Bibl.* 209.166a, 279.533b. Julian, *Ep.* 23 mentions the games, but this letter has been convincingly dated to the 1st century A.D., Spawforth (1994). IG II^2 3.3128 and 3140 also mention the Isthmian games. These two inscriptions are dated to the early and middle fourth century, but the grounds for dating them is unclear; presumably they are dated by letter form and thus the validity of their dating is questionable.



Plan 8: Isthmian Sanctuary.

Libanios' *Oration* 14 (A.D. 362) is a defense of Aristophanes, a member of a prominent pagan family of Corinth. As discussed above, Libanios was a personal friend of Aristophanes and his father, and apparently was in close contact with this family. There can be no reason to doubt that Libanios' information is accurate and he must have received it from Aristophanes or perhaps Menander himself. Aristophanes, son of Menander and nephew of the pagan philosophers Hierios and Diogenes (*Or.* 14.7) had, through the scheming of Eugenios, lost much of his fortune and privileges. Libanios appealed to Julian for the restoration of this member of a proud pagan family. In discussing the lineage of Aristophanes, Libanios (*Or.* 14.5) mentions the father, Menander and mentions that his father "went to the Isthmos for celebrations" of Poseidon, which he hosted.[3]

The date of Menander's actions are fairly certain. The oration for Aristophanes was composed in 362. We know that Aristophanes was *strategos* c. 338 when Libanios saw him in Corinth.[4] Libanios emphasizes that he was a young man at the time and acting under the care of his father, so we might assume that he was close to 30 years old at the time, as below such age he would have had few traditional or legal rights. Thus Aristophanes must have been born c. 308. We can also safely assume that Menander was close to thirty and fourty years old when Aristophanes was born, and thus Menander himself was born between 268 and 278. To have acceded to both the local and imperial senate and to be able to finance two religious festivals, apparently in close succession, Menander must have been, it would seem, between fifty and seventy years of age; we will assume he was sixty. He celebrated, therefore, the rites of Poseidon at Isthmia sometime between 328 and 338.[5]

---

[3] See Chapter II.
[4] Libanios, *Or.* 14.8.

While there probably continued to be *agonothetes* at Isthmia, as for the Olympic games at Antioch, it is doubtful that any one man could have financed the Isthmian festival.[6] The term *συντελῶν* certainly implies the involvment of more than one individual. Menander may have, but need not have, been one of the *agonothetes*, but he was one of several financiers. Civic and Imperial funding may well have continued into this period also. It is clear that despite the confiscation of civic lands by the imperial fisc, some cities, and perhaps Corinth, still had significant amounts of money available to them.[7] This money, however, probably was paid out by imperial officials. While it is improbable that these officials would authorize the use of money for a purely pagan festival, athletic contests could, of course, be viewed as a secular occasion. Imperial funding and involvment was certainly present at the Antiochean Olympic games.[8] In Antioch, at least, the ironic situation arose that an anti-pagan imperial government was supporting, directly and indirectly, a type of festival that for many, including Libanios and Menander, was still an aspect of pagan worship. There can be no doubt that the Isthmian games were viewed with the same pious reverence as the Olympic games at Antioch.[9] Likewise, while there is no direct evidence, it is possible that civic or Imperial money was available for those Korinthians hosting the Isthmian games.[10]

Thus the literary evidence, at least, strongly indicates that the games continued at Isthmia into the second half of the fourth century, perhaps as late as 362. This is as one would expect. There is no reason to assume the end of the games or pagan practices until the end of the fourth century at the very earliest, when Imperial legislation and pressure against such activity began in earnest. Libanios‘ report is unimpeachable, and the cultic associations of such games are strongly confirmed by Libanios' choice of religious vocabulary, as well as the pious regard of Libanios and Menander for the games. The continuation of the games can perhaps be envisioned as the limited activity of a small group of backward-looking pagans; some of these backward-looking pagans were powerful individuals; Parnasios, it should be remembered, gained the prestiguous office of prefect of Egypt. Even if those interested in the Isthmian games were a minority, they were a wealthy and not insignificant minority.[11] Moreover, it has been demonstrated that other forms of polytheist cult continued well into the sixth century in Corinth.[12] The Fountain of the Lamps, as we shall see, remained a major cult site in this period, and must have been visited by many.[13] At the very least, we must acknowledge that athletic games were still viewed by some of the population as an aspect of pagan worship. More probably, the cultic associations of the Isthmian games were obvious to all, acceptable to most. The festival was still supported by the Korinthian *boulé* in the early fourth century; the activity must have been large and reasonably well attended.

---

[5] Libanios does not directly state that Menander went to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, but rather he merely says that Menander went to the Isthmos. Pausanias 2.2.3 reports a sanctuary of Poseidon at Lechaion and a bronze statue of the god at Kenchreai. The rhetorical passage is ordered, however, by parallel explanations of Menander's worship of Hekate and Poseidon. In the absence of any specific indicator Libanios' remark must be taken to indicate the main sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmos.

[6] Downey (1939) 430-31, 434-5 on the sharing of the financial burden.

[7] Leibeschuetz (1959) for the financial aspects of civic institutions in the post-Constantinian period.

[8] Downey (1939) 430. Libanios *Ep.* 439 (10.433), 1399 (11.441), 1148 (11.242).

[9] Downey (1939) 434.

[10] This interpretation of the financing of the games relies heavily on evidence from Antioch. For liturgies see Leibeschuetz (1972) 148-61 and Jones (1940) 175-180. For the confiscation of civic lands see Jones (1940) 149-50, 251 and Leibescheutz (1972) 151-2 and especially 152n.1. For the funding of the Antiochean Olympic games see Leibeschuetz (1972) 136-40.

The archaeological evidence, however, has been interpreted to tell a different story. Late Roman remains within most of the sanctuary of Poseidon are clearly not the same in quality or quantity as earlier material from the site. No new major structures or even renovations seem to have been undertaken, and there is a significant decline in the quantity of ceramic material and coinage, except at the Roman Bath, where the case is the opposite. There can be no doubt that activity in the central portion of the sanctuary was substantially diminished. This reduced activity does not mean, however, that cult had ceased at the site. Activity at the temple of Asklepios in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries was of such a nature that it was not noticed by the original excavators in the material remains. The literary evidence confirms that cult continued at Isthmia and a re-examination of the remains to see what indications of activity can be identified is necessary.[14]

Prior to this re-examination, however, the criteria for identifying cult in the archeological record must be analyzed. One cannot assume that the evidence will speak for itself, for the evidence, especially the stones, is always silent. Any analysis requires selective criteria. In searching for cult at sanctuaries in the classical and early Roman periods the criteria are obvious and universally agreed upon: temples, monumental architecture, water supply, altars, sculpture, votives, and pottery indicating activity, especially dining.[15] When the criteria are so simple, it is easy to forget that the evidence is not speaking for itself. This is one problem in attempting to locate cult at sanctuaries in late antiquity. The standard criteria do not always work.

---

[11] See Chapter II.

[12] Chapter III.

[13] Chapter VIII.

[14] This re-examination is based on published records. I have not had access to the notebooks or ceramic material from the main part of the sanctuary.

[15] For an enumeration for these and more apparently obvious but little discussed criteria see Renfrew (1985) 25-7.

Noting that the old criteria are no longer reliable is relatively simple; finding new criteria is not. The Fountain of the Lamps, for example, is glaringly obvious as a cult site with its four-thosuand votive lamps. Late-antique cult activity at the Asklepieion and Temple E was more difficult to recognize but revealed itself through Christian responses and votive lamps. What of Isthmia? Why has cult gone unnoticed there? For the late Roman period at Isthmia identifying the cult activity in the archaeological record has proven to be surprisingly difficult. Activity certainly is evidenced in many parts of the sanctuary; separating the "sacred" from the "profane" is, however, problematic.

The most recent excavator of the temple and central area of the sanctuary at Isthmia, has reported that "a terminal date for the festival no later than 220-240 is suggested by the pottery connected with the functioning of the sanctuary and the later stadium."[16] This terminal date is certainly important and may indicate a point of transformation in cult activity at Isthmia. We know from the literary evidence that activity continued regularly and on a fairly sizable scale for at least a century after this date. The detail is lacking to tell us what change took place in cult activity at Isthmia, but one presumes that either that activity had little use for ceramic vessels or that the activity was shifted away from the main site.[17] The evidence from the Bath will demonstrate, however, that substantial activity did continue at the site. More important in determining the location of the activity is Libanios. Libanios does not make a general reference to the Isthmian games. He is quite specific: Menander participated in activities at the Isthmus. Libanios' specific geographic reference, as well as his equation of the Isthmus, and not Corinth, with the games, firmly places the activity he discusses at Isthmia.

While pottery from the late third and early fourth centuries is infrequent in the structures focused around the temple and the stadium, it is abundant in other areas of the sanctuary. The ceramics from these areas indicate continued activity through the fifth (and even sixth) centuries. What is not immediately evident from the ceramic evidence, however, is whether or not any of these ceramics demonstrate cult. Isthmia was the site of a Roman housing complex in the area east of the temple from the second to fourth centuries and, in the fifth century, the site of an active military fortification and a trans-Isthmian wall, the Hexamillion. Given the intense use of the site in the late Roman period, the presence of ceramics can indicate only activity; they cannot indicate cult.

---

[16] Gebhard (1987/8). It should be noted that research at Isthmia is still ongoing, and much of the publication is only preliminary.

[17] E. Gebhard (personal communication) has suggested that perhaps the games moved to Corinth, maybe to the area of the Gymnasium, at the middle of the third century. Many victors inscriptions have been recovered from this area, but most are undatable and none come from a controlled context. Given the proximity of the late Roman wall to the Gymansium, it seems likely that many of the inscriptions may have been re-used in its construction. Nevertheless, the possibility that the athletic activity was moved must be seriously considered.

One standard of determining cult activity, ceramics, has proven oddly inapplicable at late-antique Isthmia. Another standard criterion for the identification of cult activity is the care and upkeep of monumental architecture: the temple and other structures in the sanctuary. The dominant published viewpoint for Isthmia is that the site was decrepit, perhaps devastated, by the end of the fourth century. While the temple probably underwent a renovation in the Roman period, its final days are not clear.[18] All indications are that the temple was destroyed and dismantled probably at the end of the fourth century and certainly by the sixth century. [19] The evidence for the altars and other structures near the temple is similarly indecisive. The actual state of repair, or disrepair, of the temple in the late Roman period need not overly concern us, however.[20] We have already discussed at length the viability of cult at even completely destroyed temple sites, as well as adaptations of pagan cult as a reaction to the ban on sacrifice.[21] Even if the temple at Isthmia were dismantled in the late fourth century, this cannot be taken as a necessary terminus for cult activity at the sanctuary. The problem remains, nevertheless, that direct evidence for cult is missing.

Whatever the condition of the temple and attendant structures in the fourth century, the open space inside the temenos of the temple seems to have been maintained during the third and fourth centuries. The structures of the East Field, some of which date as early as the second century, border but do not violate the temenos. The congregation of these structures near the temenos of a sanctuary is not unprecedented; a similar situation can be found at Didyma.[22] That the buildings are not found within the temenos is, however, significant. Certainly the structures could not have come much closer to the temple in the second century, but if cult had ceased in the third century, one might expect the nicely terraced area of the temple and its immediate surroundings to be utilized. The East Field structures remained in use at least through the middle of the third century, and in some places as late as the fourth century, well beyond the proposed 220-240 *terminus* for ceramics in the area of the temple. There are some preliminary indications that some of the mid-third construction fill of the East Field structures is from a clean-up of the sanctuary, and this may, in part, help to explain the absence of material of this date in the region of the temple.[23] Additionally, the structures do not seem to be houses, as they are called in earlier publications, but rather a service area with facilities for cooking and housing.

---

[18] Broneer (1973) 68. Many poros blocks from the temple feature claw-toothed chisel marks that may indicate Roman workmanship.

[19] It is conceivable and perhaps probable that the temple at Isthmia was heavily damaged or destroyed in one of the late fourth century earthquakes. See Rothaus (1996a) and Chapter II.

[20] See Appendix A for the archaeological evidence.

[21] Chapter III.

[22] Parke (1985) 97 reports that there may have been families living within the temenos. Parke, citing an inscription, also indicates that access to the altar of Tyche was partially blocked by residential buildings. See also Fontenrose (1988) 158.

The structures remained at a distance from the temple, and it is not until the sixth-century houses mentioned above are built that anyone invades the area of the temple at Isthmia. The East Field structures may, in fact, represent a situation similar to the graves at the Asklepieion and Temple E. At these temples the Christian burials encroached upon but did not invade the area of the temples. The hesitation was a result of continued cult activity at the Asklepieion and perhaps Temple E.[24] Perhaps the situation was similar at Isthmia. It may well be that the houses respected the temenos because the temple site maintained a recognizable cult presence. It is certainly not implausible that the same forces that maintained respect for the temples in Corinth did the same at Isthmia. It may even be that cult activity of a sort invisible in the archaeological record continued at the site of the temple.

There is, in addition, a stratigraphic problem in the area of the central sanctuary. The fill was so shallow that most of the pre-sixth century late-antique lenses may have been lost, perhaps to erosion. The central part of ths sanctuary lies noticeably above the lower sanctuary where the Bath and theater is located; a large ravine is located behind these structures. A man-made drainage channel and significant and frequent modern washouts indicate the significant erosion risk the central sanctuary faces. If the late-antique layers were indeed lost, then discussion based on a lack of ceramic material at the site is moot, for the lack may represent not a decrease in activity but a natural process changing the archaeological record.[25] This deserves serious consideration, as it could completely explain the apparently anomalous lack of evidence for fifth and sixth century activity in the sanctuary.

---

[23] These houses are largely unpublished, but see Peppers (1979) 215-9 for Jeanne Marty's summary of the houses, 220-71 for ceramics from the area. Marty argues that the ceramics from the area indicate a break in the history of the sanctuary sometime in the third century. She notes that the predominant material is third century course ware and argues that the fourth century material is intrusive (216-18). Marty admits, however, that the stratigraphy is problematic, and material from the Bronze Age through the Byzantine period is found mixed. Marty attributes the disturbance of the fill to Alaric and subsequent construction (see note 1 above on Alaric) (215-16). Recent restudy of this material by T.E. Gregory and the author confirms and elaborates the general ceramic chronology established by Marty. There are clear indication, however, that activity continued in the area later than she posited, and that much of what was seen as use fill is actually construction fill.

What is evident in the East Field is a large reduction in the quantity of material in the fourth century. The relationship of the houses in the East Field to the Sanctuary is unknown, however, and a direct relationship between the two cannot be assumed at this point. Even if there were a direct relationship between the two the ceramic record might only indicate a reduction in activity or a change in the form of activity. See Chapter VII for a sculpture deposit in the East Field.

[24] Chapter III.

[25] On the stratigraphy, F. Hemans, personal communication. A similar situation has been noted in the East Field.

The evidence from the central area of the sanctuary is inconclusive. An area suitable for cult activity seems to have been available at least until the end of the fourth century and perhaps later. The placement of the East Field houses seems to indicate some respect for the temple site, and it may be that the temple at Isthmia, like the Asklepieion, continued to be visited. The literary evidence, however, implies substantial activity, and we might expect more than what is suggested by the ambiguous remains of the sanctuary. If a cult center, especially a sanctuary, were functioning, however, one would also expect structures other than the temple to be functioning as well. Two good examples of each of these types of facility have been excavated at Isthmia: the Roman Bath and the Theater.

The Theater at Isthmia certainly was in use through the third century.[26] The third century material in the drains and on the floor seems to indicate abandonment, but the *stroses* of the central corridor, when combined with what may be evidence for the reworking of the orchestra and the installation of a new floor could be read to indicate that an attempt was made, probable unsuccesful, to keep the Theater functioning through the fourth century. While less informative than we would like, the evidence indicates continued activity, but this need not be related to cult,

The evidence from the Roman Bath, fortunately, is much more compelling. This bath was constructed in the second century A.D.; its date of the abandonment has not been previously demonstrated. There is evidence that renovations were being undertaken in the Bath during the third and fourth centuries. Very clear evidence indicates that the bath was abandoned, rather suddenly, at the very end of the fourth century.

The continued operation of the Bath indicates that "bathing" was a component of whatever activity was ongoing at Isthmia. It also seems that the Bath functioned longer than any of the other structures at the sanctuary. Why the Bath was necessary is harder to discern. One cannot explain the operation of the Bath as a service to the local population rather than as part of the sanctuary. There is, however, no evidence for a local population beyond the East Field, and Kenchreai, the only close-by urban node, probably possessed its own bath, and is too far away to have supported the bath at Isthmia.[27] The Roman Bath at Isthmia must be explained in the context of the sanctuary. The most obvious answer is that athletic events were a major portion of the activity at Isthmia in the late Roman period. Perhaps athletic activity had been transferred to a location at Isthmia that remains uninvestigated. Or perhaps the contrary is the case; the games abandoned their athletic nature and consisted of activity that could be supported by the Bath.

---

[26] The stratigraphic evidence for the Theater in the late Roman period has been published only in summary form in the conclusion of Gebhard's (1973) work on the stages of the Theater at Isthmia. See Appendix A for the archaeological evidence.

[27] See Chapter II and the Appendix B.

Olympiodorus (fl. 425-450?) briefly desribes one sophistic ritual that would require little more than the Bath (Frag.28 Bib. Cod. 80, p.177). The ritual is an intiation for those ready to assume the robes of the sophist. The candidates, whether they be young or old, are led to the public bath by their teacher. At the bath a pushing match ensues, with some pushing the intitaites forward, and others pushing them backward, crying, "stop, stop, don't bathe [*στᾶ, στᾶ, οὐ λούει*]." The ritual continues until those pushing the initiates forward win. The new initiates are then led from the bath in a procession and then are given the robe of the sophist. While there is, of course, no evidence for this specific activity at Isthmia, the text establishes that such rituals did exist, and that as late as the fifth century the bath could be a place of ritual.

Interestingly, a late-antique philosopher portrait was found reused in the foundations of a Byzantine house at Isthmia.[28] It is difficult to believe that this head travelled very far. Someone at Isthmia in the fourth century felt that a philosopher's portrait was an appropriate decoration. The presence of a philosophical school at Corinth has been discussed above; the Nymphaeum at Kenchreai certainly was neo-Platonic in theme and perhaps in function. The presence of a philosopher's portrait at Isthmia could be coincidence, but it may indicate that the philosophers of Corinth had an interest in Isthmia as well or that the people at Isthmia were interested in philosophy. It is just possible to believe that a wealthy Neoplatonic circle in Corinth, of which Menander was a part, controlled the Isthmian festival and introduced a rite in the Roman Bath of the sort described by Olympiodorus. But this elaborate scenario is not necessary. We know from the literary evidence that cult activity, supported by the Korinthian *boulé,* continued at Isthmia into the third quarter of the fourth century. We have established that the Bath was maintained and used in this period. It would be perverse, I think, to separate the two records.

In the end, the evidence from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia is peculiarly unsatisfactory. The literary and archaeological record need not contradict each other, but the composite picture is lacking—even the archaeological evidence from various parts of the site is difficult to reconcile. The best that can be done is to indicate that cult continued at Isthmia in some form that utilized the Bath. Probably more significant in this case, however, is the lesson that the archaeological record can be extremely difficult and unhelpful at times, and further research is needed.

[28] Sturgeon (1987) 142, no. 85. The head dates to the late third or early fourth century.

CHAPTER SIX

CHRISTIANIZING THE CITY

For the archaeologist, the story of Christianity in Corinth is largely the history of Christianization. There is no physical evidence of Christian activity in the city before the fifth century. A sizable Jewish and Christian population was, of course, present in earlier periods. Paul lived and preached in Corinth, and shaved his head at Kenchreai in accordance to a vow.[1] The writings of Paul suggest that the Jews, non-Christians and Christians of Corinth were thoroughly intermixed. Paul addresses the problems of Christians associating and eating with "idolaters," and describes the Greeks as seeking after wisdom, the Jews after signs.[2]

This is not, however, a situation in which the archeological record fails us. Rather the archaeological record corresponds to the close relationship between Christian and non-Christians intimated by the literary sources, for the populations do not become distinguishable until the early fifth century. Intermarriage between Christians and non-Christians was not, as one might expect, uncommon, and Paul speaks out against this.[3] It was not until the Christian monumentalization of the fifth century that Christianity manifested itself in the visible realm.[4] This situation is integral to a larger thesis, that differentiation between Christian and non-Christian was problematic at best in this period. The monumentalization process was a distinct step in creating the cognitive groupings that ultimately allowed Christianity to claim a unique status.

In the ancient city, and perhaps in most cities, the major activities revolved around trading, legal disputes, and communal celebrations.[5] Communal celebrations meant, for the most part, activities at the theaters, amphitheaters, sanctuaries, and temples, and all of these had cultic elements. For a power structure attempting to differentiate Christianity from these other types of ritual activity, these sites were not suitable. New celebratory locales had to be developed, and the premier local was the basilica. The early Christian basilica was a center of great activity. It acted as a nexus of local patronage, a welfare and product redistribution center, a museum, a concert hall, and the home of an elaborate an ostentatious liturgy. The timeless practice of linking food, entertainment and worship was not missed in the development of the basilica, but this was only one aspect of a synthetic and intricate link between the basilicas, Christian ecclesiastical officials, and the social and economic structure of the city. Unfortunately, this multifaceted functionality of the basilica is beyond the scope of this work, and for Corinth would required a more detailed study of the substantial basilican remains than has yet been achieved.

---

[1] Acts 18. Wiseman (1979) 503-505.

[2] 1 Cor. 1:22-3, 5:9-11, 8, 10:20-23.

[3] 1 Cor. 7:13-16.

[4] See Krautheimer (1986) 23-37 for the physical world of early Christianity.

[5] Cf. van der Sprenkel (1977) 609-32.

Before the analysis of late antique cult can proceed, however, the Christian monuments of late antique Corinth must be discussed. The reader should proceed with a modicum of caution. The structures are many, and none have received what could be called a thorough study. I have made every attempt to reveal evidentiary problems where I see them; more study of these monuments is, of course, called for, but if it will ever occur is a different matter.

In the early fifth century the first Christian structures became noticeable in Corinth. Not surprisingly, the large basilicas are the most noticeable and the most securely identified, but many other possible ecclesiastical structures have been noticed. Some of these are identified so tentatively that while they should be mentioned, they cannot be included in our larger discussion of the Christianization of Corinth. Two-hundred and fifty meters east of the forum a mosaic-floored building may, in fact, have been a church.[6] West of the North Cemetery, another possible church has been identified.[7] A slightly more convincing candidate for a church lies underneath the modern church of Aghia Paraskevi. Several early Christian walls, running east-west, were uncovered, although excavation in the area was impeded by space restrictions. Spirally grooved body sherds in the walls date them to 400 or later. The walls terminated at the east and west ends against small walls, but the limited space available did not allow the presence or absence of an apse to be determined. Multiple twelfth century burials were placed against the wall, and a thirteenth century osteotheke was built into the north face of the wall. While it is possible that the late Roman walls may represent a Christian structure taken over by a Byzantine and then modern church, there can be no certainty.[8]

---

[6] Pallas (1990) 764. The structure, excavated in 1930, is unpublished. Cf. Scranton (1957) 9, where it is dated to the sixth century.

[7] Pallas (1990) 764. I have not located this structure.

[8] Notebook346, 11-129; Robinson (1967); Pallas (1990) 764. The structure was excavated in 1966. The excavator, Henry Robinson, believed that the late Roman walls were those of a church. To this list of possible ecclesiatical structures should be added Pallas (1990) 764 . This structure north of Hadji Mustapha might have been a church. The structure is triple-apsed, however, and much more likely a villa or Nymphaeum. This building with mosaics and a grave with painted sides is unpublished except for Pallas' mention. Ivison (1996) 111 suggests a church in the area of the South Basilica, but there is no real evidence.

Other small ecclesiastical structures have been identified with more certainty. The chapel, perhaps seventh century, in the fountain house of the Asklepieion, has already been discussed.[9] Another strong candidate for a church is a partially excavated structure just north of the theater. This structure contained a cruciform room with east-west arms larger than north south arms. The building, with an entrance at the south, seems to have been built in the fourth or fifth century, although this is uncertain. The floor of the cruciform room was decorated with a mosaic depicting the seasons. Identification as a church is suggested by the apse and the remains of a thorakion near the apse. The structure was destroyed and robbed out in the sixth century.[10]

Some eight-hundred and fifty meters east of the forum, towards the Kenchreai gate, west of the Kraneion Basilica, and south of the road, there are substantial architectural remains and some standing walls in an unexcavated field. Among these remains are at least two impost capitals with inscribed crosses.[11] The structure is located along the ancient road to the amphitheater, at the edge of a precipitous drop off. This structure almost certainly was a very large church or even basilica, and I will call it the Amphitheater Church. Fine ware is plentiful in the field and date to the late fifth, sixth and perhaps seventh century. Coarse ware as late as the seventh century can be found in the field. An inscription, too fragmentary to read, was found near one of the impost blocks.[12]

The basilicas of Corinth, more fully excavated and readily identifiable than the previously discussed ecclesiastical structures, demonstrate the growing wealth and prestige of the church in the fifth and sixth centuries. The sudden explosion of basilican construction at the beginning of the fifth century cannot be fully addressed here. Several possibilities are suggested, none of them mutually exclusive. Obviously, the Christianization of the empire opened the door for grandiose Christian architecture, and a growing liturgy demanded a specific architecture. The basilica, ideal for ceremonies and large audiences, as well as a standard form of Roman civic architecture provided the ideal solution to the need of a growing church, and responded in a language whose connotations of the new imperial and public aspects of Christianity were unmistakable.[13]

Why so many large and elaborate basilicas were constructed in Corinth at this period is an unanswerable question at this point. Perhaps they are imperial propaganda, used to beautify the capital city of Achaia. The central administrative city of the region may well have been a focal point of attention. Perhaps they are an indication of the growing civic power of the Bishops and clergy and their new found ability to influence regional building programs. The patronal position of the clergy and Imperial church required, as all patronal situations did, acts of good will, or euergetism. Perhaps the basilicas are sponsored displays. While I offer suggestions and not solutions, it should be noted that such activity was not restricted to Corinth or the Aegean; it was an Empire-wide phenomenon.[14] What cannot be assumed is that they are a manifestation of a sudden and rapid transformation of the Korinthian population; such buildings need not arise because of popular demand or desire. The nebulous nature of belief in the period, as discussed above, makes the application of modern conceptions of conversion problematic.[15] Nor should we assume that the basilicas represent the presence of a large Christian population. The basilicas would have held many people indeed, but there is no particular reason to assume that they did. While such questions deserve investigation, this chapter can only summarize what is already known about the basilicas of the Korinthia.

---

[9] See Chapter III.

[10] Corinth Notebooks 346, 355. The structure is unpublished. C.K.Williams II was field director of this excavation and I thank him for discussing the structure with me. For the mosaics see Spiro (1978) 96-99. Cf. Williams (1967).

[11] Pallas (1990) 764, Pallas (1959b).

[12] T.E. Gregory and I have examined this area many times and made the mentioned observations. The inscription has been turned over to the Corinth museum.

[13] Krautheimer (1986) 39-42; 117-34.

The Lechaion basilica, largest in Corinth and indeed the largest known from the world at the time of its construction, is located along the Korinthian Gulf, just west of the harbor works of Lechaion.[16] The basilica probably was dedicated to Leonidas and the seven martyrs who, we are told, perished with him at this location.[17] The structure was constructed in the late fifth or early sixth century and the atrium was added at a slightly later date.[18] The baptistery is a separate construction, earlier than the basilica and later joined to the basilica by two walls. There is some indication that the baptistery continued to be used for liturgy after the main basilica was damaged and abandoned, presumably as a result of mid-sixth century seismic activity.[19]

A three-aisled basilica with a tripartite transept, esonarthex, exonarthex and atrium, the Lechaion basilica was extremely ornate and possessed a variety of different marbles and capital types. A huge vaulted apse, pierced with multiple windows dominated the east end.[20] Of particular note is the large fountain in the atrium and the other indications of extensive water works. Multiple side rooms and perhaps associated buildings to the south were for liturgical use, teaching, and probably storage. This basilica rivaled the best of the ecclesiastical buildings in the east.

---

[14] Krautheimer (1986) 93-98

[15] MacMullen (1984); Nock (1933), esp. 1-16, 254-72. See also Trombley (1993) 223-234 on conversions in Gaza.

[16] For the basilica see Pallas (1956), (1957), (1958), (1959a), (1960a), (1961), (1961/62), (1965), (1970a), (1977) 95-101, (1979), (1979/1980) (1990) 769-776. The measurement is from atrium to apse; Lechaion measures 223m., as opposed to St. Peter (Rome) at 186m. and St. Sophia (Constantinople) at 109m. For the harbor see Rothaus (1995).

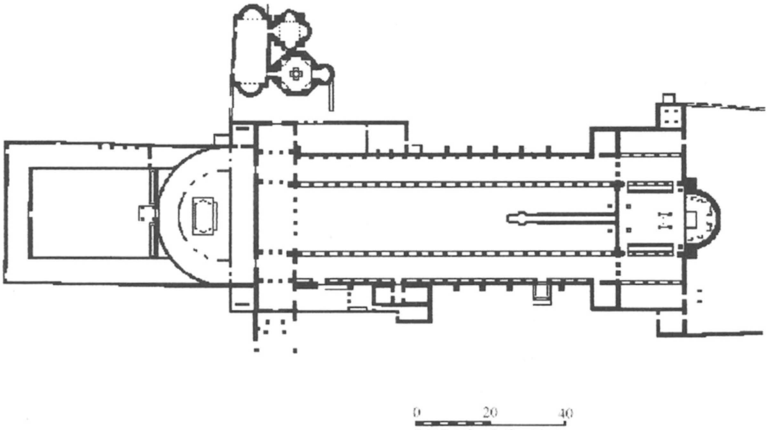
[17] Halkin (1953).

[18] A coin of Marcian (450-457) was found in the foundations of one of the walls; a coin of Anastasius I (491-518) was found under the paving. The walls of the atrium do not bond with those of the basilica; a coin of Justin I (518-527) was found in association with the construction of the atrium.

[19] See Chapter II.

[20] For a description see also Krautheimer (1986) 131-4.

In the midst of the coastal plain, southwest of the Lechaion basilica a smaller basilica has been located. This structure, known as the Skoutelas basilica (named after the region in which it was situated), was a three aisled basilica, simpler than that at Lechaion.[21] The structure has not been completely excavated, and has been bisected by a road, but a narthex and baptistery have been uncovered, and there is every indication that the structure did not have an atrium. The reliquary was covered by a *baldachino* and it seems that the building underwent some secondary modification. This basilica dates to the early part of the sixth century. Like the Lechaion basilica it seems to have been damaged in the mid-sixth century.



RMR (after Pallas 1990)

Plan 9: Lechaion Basilica

Southeast of the Skoutelas basilica and almost due south of the Lechaion basilica is the Stikas or Kodratos basilica.[22] This basilica is at the edge of the city, perhaps along the edge of the Lechaion road, and located in the cemetery that extended along the bluff the north of the city.[23] The basilica is three aisled with neither Narthex nor Atrium. There seems to have been no communication between the aisles. The basilica went through several construction phases, is pocketed with burials and adjoined by several mausolea. Several important inscriptions have come to light in the excavations of this structure including the tombstone of one Bishop Eustathios. An inscription links this complex to St. Kodratos (or Quadratus), a martyr known from Corinth: "*[῞Αγι]ε Κοδρᾶτε μνήσθ[ητι] τῶ δούλου σο[υ]* . . . ."[24] The Kodratos basilica probably dates to the early sixth century.

---

[21] Pallas (1953), (1954), (1955a), (1979) 105.

[22] Stikas (1961), (1962), (1965); Pallas (1977) 156-63, (1979) 105-108; Panagiotide (1970-1971) 98; Pallas (1990) 776-777.

[23] Several Chamber tombs were excavated near the basilica; Corinth notebook 273. The tombs were used as early as the pre-Roman period and into the late Roman period. It is perhaps no coincidence that a modern cemetery church, Aghia Anna, lies near the Kodratos basilica and the North cemetery. In 1990 a reconstruction of Aghia Anna was undertaken and the cutting of new foundation trenches revealed a vast number of human bones underneath the floor of this church.

The Kraneion basilica lies in a cemetery in the eastern portion of Corinth, outside the late Roman wall but just within the classical city wall.[25] A three-aisled basilica with numerous side-rooms and a baptistery, the structure possessed several burial chambers on its east and west sides. These burial chambers were elaborately decorated, and a tri-conch martyrium is of particular note. There are indications of waterworks and fountains over some of the tombs. The Kraneion basilica was built in the early sixth century and seems to have been damaged and abandoned in the mid-sixth century.

The basilica on Temple Hill, just northeast of the archaic temple is an extremely simple three-aisled structure.[26] Originally it was thought that this structure was constructed in the late fifth or early sixth century, and the area around this basilica is pocketed with early Christian graves and tombs. There are serious doubts that this structure is, in fact, an early Christian basilica. The structure is small and the elaborate decorative architecture present in the other basilicas of the Korinthia is absent. Recent study strongly indicates that the structure is, in fact, a Byzantine construction.[27]

The ecclesiastical structure at the summit of Acrocorinth is also suspicious, I think.[28] The similarity of this simple, three-aisled basilica to that on Temple Hill was noted long ago by Pallas, and he felt, in fact, that the Acrocorinth basilica was slightly later than the Temple Hill structure. The identifiable ceramics and graves placed under the floor of this structure are, in fact, all Byzantine or more probably Frankish.[29] I also have some serious doubts that the structure normal conceived of as the baptistery is such. Little remains of it now, but its position and shape are unlike any of the known baptisteries of the Korinthia. Thus I am reasonably certain that the "basilicas" on Temple Hill and Acrocorinth are Byzantine in date and will exclude them from my discussion.

---

[24] Stikas (1962) 54.

[25] Carpenter (1929); Shelley (1943); Pallas (1960a), (1970b), (1972b), (1976), (1977b), (1977a)154-56, (1990) 779-785.. Snively (1984) argues unsuccessfully that the Kraneion basilica was not a martyrium.

[26] Robinson (1976a), (1976b); Pallas (1990) 778. Robinson dated the structure to the fifth century.

[27] C.K. Williams II, G. Sanders and E. Ivison (personal communication) have suggested the possibility that the structure is not early Christian but rather Byzantine (or Frankish). Given extensive Byzantine activity in this area and certain remodifications of the building there is a strong chance for confused chronology. The late Roman graves in the area may lend support to the suggestion that this is an early Christian structure, or they may be a threat to this temple as the graves around the Asklepieion and Temple E were. Ivison believes the Temple Hill structure may not be a basilica but a domed structure with a unitary plan.

[28] Blegen (1930) 21ff; Corinth Notebook 90a; Pallas (1990) 791-793.

[29] Corinth Notebook 90a 86-127. T.E. Gregory has assisted in the identification of some of the ceramics, which now must be identified solely from photographs.

The major basilicas of the Korinthia were placed in the periphery of the city, most of them outside the course of the late Roman wall. Their placement cannot be attributed to a shift in the city, for the forum functioned until the late sixth or early seventh century, well after these basilicas were built.[30] Likewise, while one might argue for a population shift, and a placement of the basilicas to accommodate this population shift, there is no evidence to indicate such a transformation.[31]

Some have suggested the exterior placement of basilicas, not unique to Corinth, is a reflection of pagan and Christian spheres of influence. "Pagans," it has been supposed, controlled the center of the city of Athens, the Christians the periphery in the second half of the fifth century; they coexisted peacefully through the early sixth century with the Christians gaining and the pagans losing adherents. The Christians were cautious, and "not yet sure of their ground, [they] avoided the center of the city in their intensive building activities." While this argument is feasible, I do not find it overly convincing. Nor is the Christian avoidance of the center of Athens complete. The tetraconch church in the "Library of Hadrian" has been dated to the first half of the fifth century. The centrally located "Librarian of Hadrian" served as a *Kaisersaal,* probably as late as the fifth century. The tetraconch church, built within the "Library," is unusual in its placement, and part of the Christianization process of Athens. It was, if one will, the Christian *Kaisersaal.*[32] Seeming Christian avoidance of the center of the city at Athens and at Corinth cannot be attributed to caution based on insecurity; too many alternatives are present, including a process of monumentalization that has concerns beyond differentiating center and periphery.

Other cities, especially those with strong urban centers, exhibit this tendency for Christian churches to be on the periphery of the classical city. Corinth will be a prime example of this, but others exist, including Rome herself.[33] The churches of fourth century Rome clustered near and outside the city wall. Martyria and cemeteries were often but not always placed outside the city wall in a continuation of late Roman practice, and churches often were built in or near cemeteries and at martyrial sites. The churches of Rome are more than a century earlier than those of Corinth, however. Constantine was not oblivious to non-Christian sentiments and seems to have chosen not to move into a direct confrontation. Perhaps more importantly, the Constantinian churches served, for the most part, the private estates of Christian families. Founded by the emperor, they represented personal action more than an imperial program of Christianization.[34]

---

[30] Chapter II.

[31] Ivison (1996) states that the cemetary basilicas were all placed on the tombs of saints. This may be, but cannot be demonstrated; no tomb of a saint has been securely identified in Corinth. Ivison refers to the Lerna Springs as "sacred." Again, maybe so, but there is no evidence, either among pagans or Christians. As indicated in Chapter III, the area north of city and in proximity to the Asklepieon and Gymnasium had long been a burial location, and *contra* Ivison, the Early Christian burials in this region cannot be seen as a shift in burial customs, but rather as continuity.

[32] Karivieri (1994).

[33] Krautheimer (1983) 7-40.

By the sixth century, the churches of Rome had found their way into the center of the city as a manifestation of the new Christian character of the Empire. The *caput mundi* must reflect the Christian nature of the *mundus*. The new establishments served as community centers and were located in areas of dense habitation. In fact, the population seems to have shifted towards the Lateran basilica, the new spiritual and political hub of the city.[35]

No city makes the new role of Christianity in civic structure and planning clearer than Constantinople. Greek Byzantium, the eastern tip of the city, was the focal point of Constantine's building plan. Here Aghia Eirene and Aghia Sophia were located, as well as Constantine's palace, the governmental quarter and the hippodrome. Constantinople was, from the beginning, meant to be a Christian capital, with the interplay between imperial palaçe, government buildings, churches and hippodrome proclaiming loudly that the Empire and the city, including the government and the recreation, were Christian.[36]

Corinth does not follow the same pattern as Rome or Constantinople. As the provincial capital, site of a bishopric, and an affluent and cosmopolitan member of the Empire, one might expect it to exhibit the same general trends of civic planning. The large basilicas, however, were all placed in the periphery, and the ecclesiastical structures never made it into the city center. The Skoutelas, Stikas, Lechaion, and Kraneion basilicas are all outside the course of the late Roman wall, the Amphitheater church was just inside the course of this wall. Within the city walls are the seventh century chapel at the Asklepieion (although just within the walls), the possible church under Aghia Paraskevi, as well as the potential churches north and east of the Forum. All of the latter are, however, small structures. Important, functional for worship, but not the lynchpins of a monumentalization scheme.

One possible explanation for the placement of the basilicas in the periphery is that these monumental churches were built on private estates, as in fourth-century Rome. This strikes me as an unlikely possibility. The magnitude and uniformity of the structures almost certainly indicate imperial or civic planning and funding. The possibility of Imperial sponsorship is not unlikely, and has been indicated perhaps for Athens.[37] The Lechaion basilica, the largest in the world at the time, must surely have been acknowledged if not funded by the emperor.[38] While not certain, the evidence seems to indicate Imperial or civic involvement, not private establishments. It is equally unlikely that a situation of conflict between "pagans" and Christians could have resulted in the churches being forced to the periphery. Whatever influence the non-Christian population may have held, it could not have been comparable to that of the provincial governor and imperial officials, all of whom were representatives of an openly and deliberately Christian empire. If conflict or population shifts were not responsible for the placement of the monumental basilicas in the periphery, another solution must be sought.

---

[34] Krautheimer (1983) 8-40 for fourth century Rome.

[35] Krautheimer (1983) 93-121.

[36] Krautheimer (1983) 41-67.

Two solutions are, I think, readily at hand, one obvious, one more subtle. Many of the basilicas are placed near cemeteries, and there was a continuity of placement of the Christian and pagan cemeteries in Corinth. The Greco-Roman tradition had been to place these burials near the city wall, although this was never a hard and fast rule in Corinth. As the population became Christian, they tended to use the same burial grounds and the churches found appropriate homes near these ancient cemeteries. But cemeteries could be moved and Christians had no real aversion to burying in the center of the city.[39] Linkage with the cemeteries is not enough to explain the placement of these important community structures. A more significant process of sacralizing and Christianizing the landscape provides an additional explanation.

Religion in the ancient world was not texts, sermons and verbal conversation, it was a fully sensory experience: the smell of incense, blood and humans; the sounds of hymns, chanters, bells, drums and cymbals; the sight of the temples, the churches, the costumes, ostentatious decoration; the feeling of the press of the crowd, the vibration of shared experience, and breezes of the carefully chosen locations of sacred structures. Christianization, the chosen subject, is our signified, but the signifiers are many, and the nexus of their tangled messages was the basilica.[40]

The signifiers worked differently for different individuals, no doubt, and the multitudinous variations of their functionality will never be recoverable. Nor is it possible to determine the levels at which the processes occurred. The conscious and unconscious motivations and plans of the planners, funders and architects is similarly unrecoverable. Despite these shortcomings, there is nothing to prevent us from painting with broad brushstrokes. The general process of Christianization is reasonably clear. The basilicas and other aspects of Christian monumentalization were essential for this process, for they served not only to institutionalize Christianity, but also to sacralize the city landscape.[41]

---

[37] Karivieri (1994).

[38] Cf. Krautheimer (1986) 134.

[39] Chapter III.

[40] Cf. Gottdeiner (1986) 3 for the jargon.

The placement of the basilicas in the periphery of the city represent a process of sacralizing the landscape and institutionalizing Christianity. The problem of the Christian community was not, *per se*, one of conversion, but rather one of differentiation and institutionalization. To win the heart of an individual is a difficult task, but not near as difficult as changing the cognitive constructs of an individual. Late antique Christianity struggled to differentiate itself from other types of ritual worship. Successful Christianization depended not on a conception that included Christian worship as one of many ritual possibilities, but that grouped Christian worship as an entirely separate entity. Christianity in this period could define itself only by first defining the other, and then by claiming the city as its own.

To assume that group identification as Christian was a natural or easy process, is to retroject an inappropriate viewpoint. As demonstrated throughout this book, the problems of definition were immense. To the late-antique polytheist, religion was not so much an issue of group identification, but a common process of ritual practices not linked to any particular belief system.[42] Christianization is contrary to this pattern of thought, for it relies on a complicated process matching shared ritual practices with exclusive definitions on the basis of belief. This institutionalization of a religious community is essential for any exclusionary or monotheistic group, and in this period was largely a new invention. The visual and physical component of the institutionalization was the construction of the basilicas.

The placement of the magnificent basilicas was a bold acclamation of the institutional presence of the Christian religion. The basilicas were cleverly placed to impress anyone traveling the roadways of Corinth. Individuals arriving from any direction would sense the Christian presence of the city as they approached. Those from the northwest would have followed a road leading along the coastal plain, and turning southward toward Corinth along a route that ran past the Skoutelas basilica and entered the city somewhere near the Fountain of the Lamps.[43] The visitor arriving at Lechaion would have been witness to an even more spectacular show. Whether traveling by land or sea he would have seen the massive Lechaion basilica long before his arrival. While enjoying the amenities of the harbor area, he may very well have noticed or even visited the Christianized fountain house southeast of the basilica. On the journey south towards the city, he would have passed close by the Kodratos basilica. The visitor landing at Kenchreai might have been impressed by the basilica there, and after the journey through the agricultural lands of the Isthmus, would have been greeted by the Kraneion basilica as he entered the city on its East, as would have any visitors from the south who also would have used this route into the city. As these travelers approached the city center they would have seen the large Amphitheater basilica suspiciously close to the Kraneion.

---

[41] For a good application of these concepts to a similar problem, see Butler (1990), esp. 98-128. I have borrowed some of my vocabulary (sacralization, institutionalization) from Butler.

[42] See Asad (1993) 40-43 for this idea in a slightly different context.

[43] Or so it seems; the roadways in this are unclear.

Corinth was ringed with the basilicas, poised adjacent to all the major routes. These spacious, elaborate and expensive structures not only announced the presence of Christianity, but also its power and prestige. These basilicas are not quaint shrines; they represent massive expenditures of wealth and manpower. The sheer number of contemporary basilicas in the Korinthia attests a serious and well-endowed building program. The basilicas announce visually, aurally and olfactorily that Corinth was Christian (regardless of the veracity of this claim). Equally importantly, the basilicas proclaimed that the aristocracy, and the Empire were fully in support of this Christianity. This is not the Christianity of earlier centuries; it is an institutionalized Christianity linked to the city and the Empire.

This explanation does not, of course, explain why there seems to have been no large ecclesiastical structure at the center of Corinth. Perhaps the center had moved, but the ring of basilicas indicates it could not have moved very far. Perhaps there was such a structure, and it simply has not been found. Or perhaps a further explanation is needed. Regardless, the sacralization and Christianization process offers an independent reason for the placement of the basilicas in the periphery.

Beyond the institutionalization of Christianity that the basilicas assisted, they also served to sacralize the landscape. Sacralization is, of course, related to institutionalization. Institutionalization defines Christianity as a distinct entity. Sacralization claims the urban landscape as Christianity's own. Sacralization depends upon control of the liminal areas: those regions of the city and its environs that represent boundaries. The basilicas, of course, were only one part of this sacralization process, and it is here that the smaller shrines and churches would have also held importance.

The basilicas ring the city along its functional border outside the late Roman city wall.[44] Without systematic survey, there can be no certainty about habitation patterns, but it seems highly probable that the population of Corinth lived on both sides of this wall. The wall delineates the civic area, however, and provides a strong symbolic (and military) boundary to the city. The basilicas are almost all placed outside this boundary. The placement of the basilicas in this liminal area is part of the sacralization of the landscape.

Not only did the basilicas represent the power of Christianity through ostentatious display, they represented the power of Christianity through their placement. By controlling the boundaries, they control (symbolically at least) the city. They provide a ring of "protection" and sacralize what is within much as the temenos of the classical sanctuary or city functioned.[45] The forum and all the other civic structures lay within this circle. The influence of the basilicas extended outwards, as well, evidencing not only the control of Christianity over the civic center, but its ability to sacralize even areas outside the city proper. In this guise, Christianity was not just sacralizer but also civilizer.

---

[44] Gregory (1979b).

The number, grandeur and positions of the basilicas and ecclesiastical structures in and around Corinth were an important part of Christianization. By redefining the landscape, they further obscured the presence of non-Christian religious practice. The debris of the Asklepieion could hardly compete with the magnificence of the Christian structures. Whenever anyone moved around in the city, he was exposed to these Christian structures. The omnipresence of this "new" religious tradition served its function well it seems. One of the major challenges of Christianity in this period was differentiating itself from the "other." The monumentalization of the city helped to do just that. The Christian monuments that dominated the landscape also held unique positions in the landscape. With its overwhelming and geographically significant presence, Christianity must have gone from one of many forms of cult practice to being the norm and standard by which all cult was measured and accepted or rejected.

---

[45] Burkert (1985) 84-7, 157-9.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMAGES AND POWER

I. Sculpture in Late Antiquity

In the ancient and late-antique world, sculpture was much more than just physical representation. Like all visual images, sculpture and statuary were polysemous. Not only did individuals perceive them differently, different social groupings (often quite fluid) could understand statuary to serve different functions. Statues meant diverse things to diverse viewers, and the viewers often were not always seeing them as private individuals but as part of a larger group. The elevated portrait of Constantine in his eponymous forum in Constantinople, while exceptional, bears witness to the polysemous nature of the graven image. Constantine as Helios was a dominant image in the eastern capital through the sixth century. The statue was also discernible, however, as Constantine as the thirteenth apostle. In this instance, Constantine presumably intended for his statue to have a dual nature. The intentions of the creator are, however, often different and perhaps irrelevant to the perceptions of the viewers; statuary does not have to be conceived as polysemous to be polysemous.[1]

---

[1] Constantine: Fowden (1991); Krautheimer (1983) 61-4. See Julian (*Ep.* 48) for his objections to the statue as a reducer of faith. The employment and function of sculpture in late-antique society remains largely unstudied, but see Barasch (1992); Barnard (1974); *DACL* XV.2, c.v. "statue", 1657-65 . Regional studies are likewise lacking, but see the important work on post-Roman Britain in Merrifield (1987) 97-101. For images in early Byzantium see Mango (1963). Av. Cameron (1979) discusses the use of images to link political and religious power. For earlier periods and interpretive frameworks, Faraone (1992) is important. C. Mango (1963) has written on attitudes toward sculpture in the Byzantine period, and Av. Cameron and J. Herrin have published an edition and translation, with commentary, of the important eighth century *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. See Av. Cameron (1984) 1, 32n.80 for a discussion of Mango's work. Martroye (1921) is a brief article discussing the legislation and offering possible examples of such destructions. Saradi-Mendelovici (1990) illustrates the often ambiguous and mixed reaction of Christians to pagan structures, and many of her argument concerning temples apply equally well to statues, see esp. p. 60. Most recently see the important work of Mathews (1993). Mathews rejects, quite successfully I think, the received interpretation that early Christian art is linked to imperial motives. Mathews indicates the supreme importance of the visual image of not only representing religious controversies, but in defining and investigating the issues. While his core subject matter is different than that pre-

Of particular interest to this study are changing reactions and responses to sculpture in a period of religious tensions and transformations. The vicissitudes of the evidence, especially from Corinth, ensure that positive attitudes are little manifested in the archaeological record; violent reactions leave the clearest traces in archaeological and documentary evidence. The reader should not be mislead by the dominant role of evidence for negative attitudes in this chapter. Moreover, a dearth of similar studies demands that this chapter begin with a general study incorporating evidence from mainland Greece and Asia Minor.

The majority of our late antique sources agree that statues possess power. This attitude is not unique to late antiquity and is amply demonstrable for other periods.[2] It may, in fact, be a constant for most of the premodern world. This concern with the nature of power in statues, as well as the manner in which such power should be treated appears often in Christian polemic. Polemicists offered two general refutations to the beneficial nature of power in the statues. Some argued that the statues held no power and the belief in such was mistaken. Others maintained statues do indeed possess power, but it is the power of daimones and thus only detrimental.

The arguments that statuary held no power are of little use here beyond demonstrating that such ideas were possible. Clement of Alexandria (46P (cf. 81P)), writing in the third century, provides an appropriate example. He noted that swallows and birds land on statues and defile them, and fire and earthquakes do not respect them. If statues had any power, much less were filled with the powers of a god, they would not tolerate such actions. Clement echoed and demonstrated a simple approach; statues are inanimate and powerless, and this is evident by the abuse heaped upon them. Although we hear this interpretation of sculpture infrequently, it should not be dismissed or forgotten. Clement's effort to dispel the idea of empowered statues confirms, however, that for many this belief was entrenched.

Other Christian polemicists saw the power of daimones in statues.[3] Minucius Felix (200-240 A.D.), perpetuating a common argument, elaborated upon the habits of these beings and described their powers (27.1-3):

---

sented here, he sees the central importance of statues in worship (180): [The old gods'] health depended on the upkeep of their statues, and as these crumbled, their influence waned." An issue Mathews does not delve into, but worthy of consideration, is the relative abandonment of sculpture as an art form at the end of the late antique period.

[2] Frankfort (1946) 134-5 (Mesopotamia); Wilson (1951) 221 (Egypt); Geary (1983) 134-5 (Medieval Europe); Mango (1963) (Byzantine); *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, infra. (Byzantine). Gordon (1979) argues, successfully I think, that the same attitude towards statues persisted for more than 1000 years, despite political and social changes. For animated statues see also Trombley (1993) 49.

[3] The use of the term daimones is more than a semantic nicety. The *daimon* is the entity or force that acts on man. A *theos* can be a *daimon*, but a *daimon* is not necessarily a *theos*. To translate the term as "demon" begs the question. Certainly for many Christians *daimones* were demons: malificent beings and forces. But we are dealing with a period when this attitude is being created, and to presume the definition denies the ample evidence of Christians who were able to see *daimones* as beneficial. See Burkert (1985) 180-81 for the definition.

> These unclean spirits, or daimones, as revealed to Magi and philosophers, find a lurking place in statues and consecrated images, and by their breath exercise influence as of a present god: at one while they inspire prophets, at another haunt temples, at another animate the fibers of entrails, govern the flights of birds, determine lots, and are the authors of oracles mostly wrapped in falsehood . . . .

Not only could an image itself be possessed of power, a daimon might dwell within this image. Cyprian (*de idol. vanitate* 7) asked, "When we challenge daimones in statues, don't they confess and leave?"[4]

While we know that the ideas that statues possessed powers, or even that daimones possessed statues, were common, we are less sure of what behavior was engendered by this. Christian polemicists and some individuals saw statues as a locus of illegitimate powers and thus reacted violently, in both word and deed (as we will see below). The treatment accorded the images by non-hostile individuals and groups is more difficult to ascertain. We can assume that traditional offerings were made to statues through the late-antique period, and indeed such offerings are paralleled, in slightly different form, as part of Christian worship. Certain practices, expected and perhaps even obvious, such as processions and celebrations are attested.[5] Unfortunately, private non-Christian cult activity is the most difficult to recognize. The scattered literary record only indicates that offerings were made in the forms of vows, lamps, candles and incense.[6]

The importance of sculpture in late-antique pagan worship is emphasized by the repeated proscriptions in the Theodosian Code. Constantius (*C.Th.* 16.10.6, A.D. 356) seems to have been the first to single out the worship of images as a punishable offense, and other bans, both specific and general, followed.[7] Gratian (*C.Th.* 16.10.8, A.D. 382), in ordering that a temple in Osrhoene (probably at Edessa) remain open for common use, insisted that the images therein must be appreciated for the value of their art rather than their divinity. In 399 Arcadius and Honorius ordered that idols in Africa be investigated and removed, as the statues were still being worshipped (*C.Th.* 16.10.18). Similar instructions were given to the Praetorian Prefect in Rome in 408 (*C.Th.* 16.10.19; *Sirm.* 12), with the additional elaboration that not only any statues that might have been venerated at the time of the law, but also those that once were worshipped, be removed. Gratian was seemingly convinced that sculpture, even that with "pagan" associations could still fulfill a useful function as art. The main point of issue was only those statues that were associated with continued cult activity, but the situation must have been quite varied and complex. Statuary formed one focus of such legislation, and this is a good indication that images remained a central (and visible) component of cult activity.[8]

---

[4] Greg. Nyssa, *Vita S. Greg. Thaum.* 46.916A (*PG*) reports that Gregory the Thaumaturge made a temple uninhabitable by its owner by saying prayers there. Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* 7.15.17.

[5] Malalas' (10.51 [265]) reports a procession carrying lead statues of Ares in Antioch to provide year-round protection against mosquitoes. For an apparently accurate record of a late-antique procession see the *Parataseis Syntomai Chronikai* 5.

[6] Clement 45P (offerings of steam, blood and smoke); Priscus 27.1 (Egyptians venerate statue in A.D. 453); PA 11.386 (victories addressed); Socrates, *H.E.* 1.18.40-1 (Constantine places his statue in temples); Socrates, *H.E.* 3.2 (112) (Julian sacrifices to Tyche in Basilica in Constantinople); Malalas 10.12 (237) (Statue of Christ set up in Paneas by women cured of hemorrhage)Philostorgios 2.17; Theodoret 1.34; Moschus (d. 619) *Pratum Spirituale* c. 180 (*PG* 87.3, c. 3052); John of Damascus *PG* 94 c.1393D; *V. Porphyrii* 59. See Kitzinger (1954) 97-99 on candles and lamps as devotional objects in the Christian cult of images before iconoclasm. Theodoret (3.15) reports that Julian had water offered to idols sprinkled on his food. While it cannot be discussed here, there exists a manuscript illustration (Paris, *Cod. gr.* 510, fol 374v) of Julian sacrificing in front of a triad of statues. Weitzmann (1942) 103-5. As the illustration dates to the fifth century, there is a good chance this is an accurate representation of a late-antique sacrifice.. I pass over the attitudes of the early Christian apologists. For these see Barasch (1992), esp. pp. 108-126 on Tertullian.

[7] A.D. 391 (*C.Th.* 16.10.10), A.D. 392 (*C.Th.* 16.10.12).

While many admired the power of statues, the veneration of statues was not always appreciated. This is well illustrated by the celebration around the statue of Eudoxia at Constantinople in 403.[9] This silver statue was erected on the top of a porphyry column. Sozomen (8.20) reports a celebration commemorating the dedication of the statue, while Socrates (6.18 [164]) gives a different version in which games are held around the statue. While the populace may have been enthusiastic, John Chrysostom, the chroniclers tell us, found the statue and attendant activities inappropriate so near to a church. Whether Chrysostom personally believed statues held power or "daimones" is unknown and probably irrelevant. His denunciation of "pagan" sculpture could be vigorous; he denounced the Olympians as "dead gods," and scorned Artemis and Athena as "little whores."[10]

While not specifically referred to as "religious," the activity at the statue of Eudoxia would have borne heavy connotations. Both games and public ceremonials had distant origins in cultic activity. More importantly, however, Chrysostom wrote in a period when such activities were being used to elevate and empower the emperor, and, for some, to venerate his *genius*.[11] The dividing line between secular and "religious" adoration was, at best, blurred, and in the fifth century allied to the creation of a Christianized empire. It is because statues did contain power that they were a focus of attention, and this attention made them powerful tools. Certainly Chrysostom's objections are part of his conflict with Eudoxia, but his protestations concerning the proximity of the activity to the church are relevant. Chrysostom was attempting to draw dividing lines: "pagan" and "Christian," "sacred" and "profane." The polysemous activity around the statue worked against the creation of such divisions.

This varied attitude towards sculpture is also revealed by Julian. While Julian, of course, dedicated many statues, some portraying deities, he emphasized the role of the statue as a transcendent image, not fully stone, but certainly not a power in itself: (294 C-D):

---

[8] Chapter III on sacrifice and the temples.

[9] On Chrysostom and Eudoxia: Leibeschuetz (1985), Gregory (1979a) 53-58..

[10] George of Alexandria, *Vita Chrysostomi* III.4 (Halkin). Cf. Trombley (1993) 298-9 for a presentation of this evidence.

[11] Brown (1992).

> So when we look at the images of the gods, surely let us not think that these are stones or wood, but let us not think these are the gods themselves. For we do not say that the images of the emperors are wood and stone and bronze, and we certainly do not say they are the emperors themselves, but rather images of the emperors. So whoever loves the emperors views the image of the emperors with pleasure, and whoever loves his son views his son's image with pleasure, and whoever loves his father views his father's image with pleasure. Therefore whoever loves the gods looks upon the images and statues of the gods with delight, at the time revering and shivering in the presence of these gods, looking from unseen worlds. So if anyone supposes that these cannot be destroyed because once they were called the images of gods, it seems to be utterly senseless. For it would follow, presumably, that these could not be made by men. But it is possible for that which was made by wise and good men to be destroyed by evil and stupid men . . . . So let no one disbelieve in the gods, having seen and heard how some have mocked the statues and the temples.[12]

In Julian's presentation, statues are a connector between the gods and men. It is at these that men "shiver in the presence" of the gods, and the gods look in from "unseen worlds." The images are more than simple material creations, but Julian himself insists that they themselves are not divine. Images can be destroyed, and the destruction has no bearing on the power of the images. Julian, in his unique fashion, responds to both extremes in a debate over images. Both types of men are foolish: those who venerate images as divine, those who mock them as silly objects of stone and wood. Both "simple" devotees and attackers are condemned, but it is clear where Julian's sympathies lie; those who destroy statues, presumably here Christians, are the "evil and stupid" men.

Of particular interest is the treatment statues underwent at the hands of Christians.[13] A variety of responses were possible, perhaps the most neutral being ignoring the statues or the sending them to the lime kilns. Undoubtedly much sculpture, no longer useful, was burned for lime, recut or melted down. Palladas, the fifth century epigramist, humorist and keen observer of the tensions of his world, reports the fate of a statuette of Eros (9.773):[14]

---

[12] Cf. Dio 12.60-1; Maximus Tyrus, *Diss.* 38.

[13] Thornton (1986) attempts to address changing attitudes towards the desecration of pagan statues. He argues that before the third century Christians had little interest in attacking pagan images; only after the persecutions of Diocletian did they attack. The literary evidence is ample in suggesting, however, that the motivation was the much more immediate desire to destroy daimones, larger religious policy being irrelevant in the heat of the moment. Thornton's argument for a change in attitude is unfeasible. He neglects the difference between a religion on the defensive and the offensive and the resulting differences in rhetoric. Much of his argument rests on a regulation (lx) from the Council of Elvira, hardly a source that can be used to generalize about attitudes. I would argue that the regulation indicates the opposite of what it states. The Council decreed that those who are killed because they attack idols will not become martyrs, a sure indication that such individuals were, in fact, being regarded as martyrs. Cf. *Roman Martyrology*, January 12: In Achaia sancti Saturi martyris, qui ante quoddam idolam transiens, cum exsufflasset illud, signans sibi frontem, statim idolem corruit, ob causam decollatus est.

> The bronzeworker, having altered Eros, made a frying pan,
> not unreasonably, since this also inflames.

A neutral disposal or reuse of statuary and "religious images" tells us little. More substantial for our purposes is the willful defacement, ritual disposal or adaptation of sculpture.

That much of the "pagan" sculpture from antiquity was adapted for secular or ecclesiastical use is of no surprise and is certainly well attested for the Byzantine period. This process of readoption began as early as the fifth century. Palladas (9.528) found contrast between the reuse of statues and the apparently widespread destruction of objectionable sculpture:

> Having become Christians, possessing an Olympian home, they now dwell here unharmed. For the melting pot that pays out the life-giving coin shall not gather them together in the fire.[15]

The scenario is clear in its meaning, but not obvious. Statues of deities have been "adopted," probably as part of an art collection. The statues are "Christians" because they live in a Christian household. It appears that for the possessor of these images at least, the religious significance of an object lay not in the object itself but in its setting.[16] Art collections seem not to have been infrequent, and good examples have been found at Antioch and Aphrodisias.[17] The reuse of pagan images, either for raw materials or as part of a religiously neutral art collection, is a manifestation of an apparent antipathy concerning the ritual objects.

A marked contrast to the peaceful reuse of statuary are events of "conversion," mutilation and ritual destruction. At times, the destruction of images was the result of demagogic urging and mob violence. The most famous example of such activity is the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391. This event was a complicated mixture of religious conflict and municipal power struggles, but the outcome was that the Serapeum at Alexandria was attacked by a Christian mob. The adyton of the temple was opened and the objects within were held up to ridicule. The pagans responded with a violent attack that culminated in the dismemberment of George the bishop. Socrates (5.16) reports that the governor and imperial troops marched in and destroyed the temple. The statues of the gods were melted into objects for the church and the poor, and the stone statues were smashed except for one, preserved "so that [the pagans] cannot deny they worshipped such gods." Ammonius, one of Socrates teachers, who was present at the events, was annoyed by the preservation of one figure as a point of ridicule; such a simplistic representation deliberately made the cult look foolish, as the opponents intended.[18] The events in Alexandria, 391, were an exceptional explosion of regional tension.[19] While informative, such large scale, violent activity was probably not the norm in the East. Rather, much of the conflict over images seems to have been local and perhaps even personal in nature.

---

[14] On Palladas see Luck (1958), Bowra (1960), Cameron (1965a and b), Baldwin (1985).

[15] See also *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 13, 17 and 42 for the melting of statues for coin and Av. Cameron and Herrin (1984) 202 where it is noted that even innocuous statues were melted down in times of metal shortage.

[16] Cameron's (1965b) 223) assumption that these statues had become part of a church or religious building seems unnecessary. It is difficult to imagine how Olympian statues could be or need to be incorporated into a church. They could, of course, be in a religious building, but their function in such a structure probable would be more that of an art collection (or epidepsis of wealth) than religious. Palladas 16.282 does, however, report the reuse of Victories in a Christianized manner, and Cameron's interpretation is certainly plausible.

[17] For art collections see Brinkerhoff (1970) 4, 53-6, 63-7; Smith 1990 (151-3).

Mutilation of statuary, and the attendant sacrilege of such activity, was not uncommon in antiquity; one needs only remember the accusations made against Alkibiades.[20] The ritual defacement and destruction of sculpture in late antiquity had a specific purpose, however: to remove the power from the offending image. Ritual defacement of sculpture is little attested in the literary record. The best account comes ironically, from a description of an action of Julian. Sozomen (5.21) reports that Julian ordered a statue of Christ at Caesarea Phillipi to be removed and replaced with his image. The statue of Christ was mutilated and dragged around the city; the Christians later recovered its remains and placed them in a church.[21] The veracity of this account is, of course, unsure, but the report serves its purpose here. Julian may not have done this, but such actions must have been plausible.

While the literary sources tell us little about mutilation, the archaeological record is full. The most clearly identifiable form of mutilation was the inscription of a cross on the forehead of an offending image, the most common the lopping-off of features. The cross was the supreme emblem of power to Christians in late antiquity and its uses as an apotropaic and protective sign on objects and buildings are well known.[22] The tracing of the cross on the forehead was a common Early Christian form of exorcism; when one found oneself in danger from daimones or in need of protection, one reaction was to cross oneself and hiss or spit.[23]

---

[18] For the event and the sources see Thélamon (1981).

[19] See Gassowska (1982) 113-115 for a detailed recounting of the violent destruction of the cult image of Allat-Athena, c. 380. Cf. Trombley (1993) 146.

[20] Thuc. 6.27-8.

[21] Philostorgius 7.3 tells basically the same story with the added information that healing herbs grew around the base of the statue before it was disturbed. Cf. Eusebius, *E.H.* 7.19; Rufinus 7.14.

[22] Maguire (1989) 18-22. See esp. Chrysostom, *Contra Judaeos et Gentiles* 9; *In Matthaeum Homilia 54.4.* Rufinus, *H.E.* 2.29; Thelamon (1986) 267-273. S. Curcic (1992), argues that the crosses so common on impost blocks in the fifth-century served to purify pagan architectural forms, and in some instances, *spolia.* See Trombley (1993) 219-220 on the cross-shaped Eudoxiana at Gaza, and the use of the cross in conversion "liturgies" and graffiti. I am not as confident as Trombley that there was a set liturgy for the conversion of a site.

[23] For crossing see Sozomen 5.2 (where Julian is the actor); Gregory Nazianzen 1.55 tells the same story. Julian, *Ep.* 19, 451D mentions crossing and hissing as a means of protection

Sculptures inscribed with a cross do not lend themselves to a simple, direct interpretation. The possible interpretations are varied, and it would be folly to presume a uniform procedure with uniform function. The simplest explanation, that the image is being exorcised or purified is confirmed by the literary record. The bishop Porphyry in Gaza caused a daimon to flee a statue by approaching the statue with comrades bearing crosses, with the attendant result that the statue fell and shattered (decapitating one pagan devote and injuring another). The daimon could not bear the sign.[24] Demeas, a Christian (and a magistrate) in Ephesos about 435, emphasized the conquering power of the cross by throwing down an idol and erecting this symbol in its place:[25]

> Demeas, having pulled down the guileful idol of the daimon Artemis, set up this sign of truth, in opposition to the worship of idols, the cross of God and priests, the victory bringing, undying, symbol of Christ.[26]

Porphyry drove the daimon out by carrying crosses. Demeas physically drove away the idol. Inscribing a cross on the face of a statue apparently drove the daimon out in the same manner.[27]

Of greater interest, and unanswered by the literary record, is just why the demons needed to be driven out. In some cases the cross was inscribed to Christianize the statue, to baptize it and prepare it for a new life with a new interpretation. A tale of Julian shows him rejecting a statue of Helios because it had a cross carved in it. Apparently the statue had been converted and re-used.[28] Conversion of sculpture continued well into the Byzantine period, with the Panagia Gorgoepekoos in Athens the most elegant exam-

---

against daimones and in *Ep.* 79 imputes that the sum of Christian theology is hissing and crossing. Chrysostom *In Matthaeum homilia* 54.4 mentions the efficacy of the cross in repelling daimones.

[24] *Vita Porphyrii* c. 59-61 (Grègoire and Kugener, Paris 1930). See Trombley (1993) 210 for a rationalization (probably correct) of this event. Cf. Athanasius, *Vie d'Antoine* 80 where Anthony expels daimones with three signs of the cross.

[25] Gregoire (1972) 29 n.104. Guarducci (1978) 400-401, dates the inscription to the fifth century on the (insecure) basis of letter forms.

[26] *Θεόν* is difficult to interpret. I have read it as a genitive to provide this translation. One might want to read it as an accusative (God who opposes idols), providing the sense of opposition from the verb, but such a reading infeliciously equates the cross with God. Perhaps it should be read as an adjective (the godly cross). Cf. Trombley (1993) 102 for a partial translation.

[27] Socrates 3.20 (116) notes that when the Jews attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem under Julian's auspices, there were earthquakes and miraculous fire and crosses appeared on the clothes of the offending Jews. While different in context, the use of the cross here as a marking device and purifying agent is parallel to its use to cleanse statues. Cf. the cross shaped abrasions of two boys injured during the construction of the Eudoxiana basilica at Gaza: *V. Porphyrii* 80-82. The marks were interpreted as divine approval for the undertaking.

[28] *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (38). The report is that this was a "new" Tyche, and the implication is that the cross was part of the manufacture. It seems much more likely, however, that the Tyche of the story is not new, but rather newly reused and thus the cross is an addition. For the reuse of Victories in Constantinople (where this incidence allegedly takes place) see Palladas, P.A. 11.386, 16.282.

ple.[29] A grave relief from Sparta also provides a good example of Christian reuse.[30] The relief originally depicted a warrior, but the face of the warrior has been removed, the head is ringed with a halo, and crosses have been added on either side of the figure. There can be little doubt that the grave relief has been altered to serve some Christian function. Unfortunately, the date of this conversion is unknown.[31] Was the piece reworked as part of a Christian-pagan power struggle, or was it simply re-used, with no animosity, as an act of mere convenience?

There is no reason to assume that Christian reuse explains all examples of sculpture mutilated with crosses. Without an archaeological context for the finds, it is often impossible to determine if the statues were ever re-used at all. Crossing was a common form of exorcism, and we must consider the possibility that some statues, not intended for re-use, still needed to be exorcised. As will be shown, there is ample evidence for such disposal of statuary, and one head from Corinth evidences crossing followed by disposal, not re-use. Without full archaeological publication of such defaced pieces, the specific nature of such actions cannot be determined. The inscription of a cross could serve a variety of functions, however, all related to disempowering the statue or daimon within.

The heads of Livia and Augustus from the Prytaneum at Ephesos and both inscribed with crosses, are an important example of the use of the cross. The Prytaneum was, evidently, cleansed by a Christian or group of Christians; along with the defacement of the two heads, there is a cross on one of the figures of the monumental façade and the name of Artemis has been erased from the porticoes in front of the Prytaneum.[32] Unfortunately, the fill in which these heads were found has not been published and it is not possible to assign a date to the mutilations. The crosses carved into the foreheads of the Augustus and Livia are discolored, perhaps by burning but the smoothly polished edges of the cutting more probably indicate rubbing.[33] Rubbing the crosses apparently achieved something, and one is reminded of the Christian apotropaic crossing of oneself on the forehead in times of danger. The cross serves a variety of functions here. Its inscription is an obvious part of the de-paganization of the Prytaneum. The statues of Livia and Augustus were rendered suitable to remain in place (whether they were re-interpreted we do not know). Most curiously, the crosses served a ritual function, perhaps acting as apotropaics.

---

[29] Delivorrias (1991) 116.

[30] Delivorrias (1991) 118.

[31] Delivorrias (1991) is the only article I am aware of dealing specifically with the conversion of sculpture. To Delivorrias I would add the bust of Marcus Aurelius (or Antoninus Pius) at Eleusis, Deubner (1937) 72; a cross on the colossus at Delos (unpublished but see Bruneau (1983) 125); a cross(?) inscribed on the figure of Archidemos at Vari Cave, Weller (1903) 301. Other examples exist, but need not be listed here. The piece from Corinth described by Delivorrias 112 is Corinth inventory number S3540. Cf. Trombley (1993) 119.

[32] Foss (1979) 32 for the general information. The name of Artemis was also erased form inscriptions at the harbor baths. Cf. Delivorrias (1991) 113. The discoloration has not been noted in publication.

[33] The discoloration and polishing have not, to the best of my knowledge, been noted in publication.

More difficult to recognize than the inscription of crosses is the general mutilation of sculpture. On freestanding sculpture such mutilation is difficult to identify, as it is often problematic to separate normal damage and the haphazards of preservation from deliberate mutilation.[34] Mutilation is easier to detect on relief sculpture. The object of mutilation is usually the face, and one will often find the face of a relief fully obliterated but the rest of the relief well preserved. In cases such as these, weathering or chance damage cannot be held to blame.

Several examples of mutilated reliefs can be noted. The reliefs from Vari Cave in Attica, a popular cult site of Pan and the Nymphs, were defaced, probably in the fifth or sixth century, by the hammering of the faces in the reliefs.[35] This technique removed the features and left a rough flat surface. Despite the shattered condition of the reliefs, all features except the faces remain in good condition and thus we can be certain the faces were the target. The reliefs from the Asklepieion at Athens, which probably suffered a violent destruction at Christian hands, were similarly defaced, except that a chisel was used to cut the faces from the relief, leaving sharp edges that are recognizably not the result of natural breakage. Other similarly mutilated reliefs include those from House C in the Athenian Agora and the Theater reliefs from Nyssa.[36]

Good examples of mutilated free-standing sculpture are to be found at Aphrodisias, where the face of the colossal Aphrodite has been battered off, with some associated deliberate damage done to the breasts. The most obvious case of mutilation comes in a group of philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias. These portraits and their excavation have been excellently published and it is not necessary to examine each one here.[37] The Alexander head is a remarkable example of mutilation, however, and deserves to be described. This medallion portrait was defaced while in situ; the brow, mouth and nose were badly damaged by blows from a blunt instrument. A deep line was chiseled around the underside and halfway up each side of the neck. The portrait was then decapitated, the break occurring lower down the neck. Decapitation, and damage to the brow, nose and mouth was standard procedure for the mutilators of these heads, and similar techniques can be seen on others of the sculpture discussed here. The cutting of the neck is unique, however. Smith acknowledges that it may be a symbolic killing, but prefers to view it as an initial and abandoned attempt at decapitation. I prefer the opposite view: it is possible that this was a failed method of decapitation, but the method is attested for no other decapitated statue. The cut seems to be too elaborate and unnecessary for decapitation; more likely it was a ritual slaying.[38] Why Alexander was signaled out for this treatment is unknown, unless it be that he was the only one in the collected ensemble who was recognized by a hostile individual as a "deity."

---

[34] See for example the statement of Karageorghis (1961) 321 on sculpture from Salamis (Kypros): "Most of the statues have been found headless and intentionally mutilated, having suffered at the hands of the Early Christians and Arab invaders." A statement that may well be correct but certainly cannot be demonstrated. Only one published sculpture from Salamis seems to be mutilated, Karageorghis (1966) no. 134, a late-antique "philosopher" portrait where the eyes, nose and chin seem to have been deliberately battered. The headless state of much sculpture may indicate widespread decapitation at the hands of the Christians. However, heads were easily detachable and just the right size for many lime kilns. Torsos however, were too large for most lime kilns, and given an abundance of smaller marble pieces, may not have been worth transporting or breaking up. The preservation of torsos and destruction of heads may be partly a result of the physical exigencies of the lime kiln.

[35] On the cave, which served as a cult site in the Classical and then again in the late Roman period, see Chapter VII.

[36] See below for House C; the Nyssa reliefs seem to be unpublished. For the Asklepieon reliefs see above, Chapter III. Delivorrias (1991) 118 notes crosses painted on one of these reliefs. See also Hanfmann (1978) no 140 and 141 for mutilated Hellenistic reliefs.

[37] Smith (1990). See also the head of Constantius I Chlorus (?) in Stockholm, the pupils and upper eyelids of which have been damaged by well aimed blunt blows: Brinkerhoff (1970) 29. Other possible examples of mutilated sculpture may include the cult group in the baths of Mithras in Ostia: Meiggs (1973) 401.

Ritual disposal was another means of disposing of statue that was feared. Palladas provides the most elegant testimony (9.441):

> I looked with astonishment at the bronze son of Zeus in the crossroads, once before held in prayers, now thrown aside. And in fury, straightway I said, "Averter, offspring of three nights, never were you defeated, today you have been laid low." But at night, standing beside me and grinning the god said, "Even I, a god, have learned to serve the seasons."

Palladas' primary aim is invoking the mood of the age in a darkly humorous fashion. The passage is not the most secure evidence for the practice, but it is indicative. Of interest for our immediate purposes is the location of the cast aside statue of Herakles: the crossroads. Perhaps Palladas is reporting an actual event or practice; perhaps he merely invented the crossroads. Either way Palladas chose his words carefully; even those who denigrate his style would not deny this. Here in Palladas we have an incidence of ritual disposal, for crossroads were (and continued to be through the early modern period) a location that facilitated a transition from this world to the next, and a location to place those items one desired out of this world.[39]

Disposal of items at crossroads does not appear in the archaeological record. Burial, however, was another method of disposing of "possessed statuary." Ralph Merrifield, in the study of numerous objects in Britain, has noted numerous examples of defacement and deposition of sculpture in unusual spots, often wells and rivers. While leaving open the very serious possibility of votives, he argues that many of these objects were disposed of in a manner that would return the possessing demons to the underworld.[40] Placement underground facilitated the transition from this world to the underworld and was particularly suitable for communication with *chthonic* deities.[41] Votives and sacrifices intended for the denizens and deities of the underworld would normally use subterranean altars, *bothroi*, and even graves. Curse tablets, one of the more common attempts at communication with the underworld, were traditionally placed in wells and graves. Christian disposals and votive offerings would take much the same form. The difference is one only of intention; worshippers wished to send votive objects and messages to the underworld; opponents wished to return the powers of the demons to the underworlds whence they came.

---

[38] Smith (1990) 135-8, 155 for the Alexander mutilation.

[39] See Trombley (1993) 143n.90 for an unnecessary, to my mind, attempt to relate Palladas' Herakles to the single mocked effigy from the Serapeum at Alexandria. Johnston (1991) for a discussion of crossroads and bibliography.

Ritual disposal is attested in the literary record. Our source, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, is admittedly late, but portrays accurately, I think, this action of the late-antique world. The author reports (38), at the end of the story of Julian's rejection of the Tyche engraved with a cross, that the emperor resigned the sculpture to a pit where there were many other "*θεάματα*."[42] While it seems unlikely the story is historically accurate, it presents a credible version of reality. That such burials were performed by Christians is indicated elsewhere in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 28.

> One day we went off to the Kynegion with Himerius the aformentioned *chartularius* [record-keeper] to investigate the statues there, and found among them one that was small in height and squat and very heavy. While I was wondering at it and not getting on with my inquiry, Himerius said, "You are right to wonder, for he is the builder of the Kynegion." When I said "Maximian was the builder and Aristides the architect." Immediately the statue fell from its height, which was great, and dealt Himerius a great blow and killed him on the spot . . . . So the dead man's relations and the friends of the emperor went with me to the place, and before approaching where the man lay fallen, stared in amazement at where the statue lay fallen. A certain John, a philosopher, said "By divine providence, I find it so in the writings of Demosthenes, that a man of rank would be killed by the statue." And he told this at once to the Emperor Philippicus, and was commanded to bury the statue in that place; which was done, for it was impossible to destroy it. Consider these things truly, Philokalos, and pray you do not fall into temptation, and take care when you look at old statues, especially pagan ones.[43]

Here is evidence of Christian burial of possessed statuary in the early eighth century. Destruction was not sufficient for extremely dangerous statuary; this may be the meaning of the remark about the statue in the above story not being able to be destroyed. Particularly hazardous pagan sculpture was disposed of by burial.[44]

---

[40] Merrifield (1987) 97-101. Merrifield's work provided the spark of realization that utlimately led to this chapter.

[41] Cf. Burkert (1985) 199-202.

[42] For the story see above."*θεάματα*"in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* is best translated as "spectacle" or "wonder"; see 41 and 43.

[43] I have used the translation of Av. Cameron and Herrin (1984).

[44] See also *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 5a, 7, 8 and 9 for burials. Av. Cameron and Herrin (1984) 202 reach much the same conclusion.

Three deposits, one from Athens, one from Antioch, and, less securely, one from Aphrodisias demonstrate that such ritual burials of pagan sculpture occurred in the late-antique world. House C, south of the Athenian Acropolis, shows evidence of being renovated in the sixth century. Some of the sculpture was mutilated, as mentioned above, but some unmutilated pieces, mainly heads, were thrown into a well. Heads, of course, were the recognizable part of the statue and could be signaled out in a process of removing the daimones from the statue. The date of the deposit is secure, and we may be almost certain that the sculpture deposited in the well is a ritual deposit.

The excavators have proposed that the heads were hidden in the well by pagan enthusiasts for later reuse, and that the house was Christianized. This argument for pagan encryption is based on the fine preservation of the pieces in the well and mutilation of those outside the well. Placement of an object in a well was, however, a standard method of sending it to a "netherworld," and it seems unlikely that the allegedly "pagan" inhabitants of this home would use such a location as storage for sacred objects they aimed to uncover.[45] It seems more likely that those pieces placed in the well were not envisioned as needing mutilation, for the daimones within were being disposed of. Those pieces not placed in the well, but rather kept, presumably for re-use (cf. the Athena used as a threshold) needed to be defaced to drive the daimones out. The implication of these actions is that the house was Christianized, probably after being purchased by a Christian.[46]

Other examples of probable ritual disposal include a "cache" of sculpture in Antioch representing gods, heroes, mythological subjects, and portraits that had been buried during late antiquity in a room of a late fourth or early fifth century villa excavated in 1934.[47] The defaced sculpture already mentioned from Aphrodisias may also have been ritually disposed of. They were placed between the back wall of the north portico of the Sebasteion and the back of an apsidal structure (a large house and perhaps a philosophical school) in an inaccessible, narrow alleyway. The sculpture, manufactured in the fifth century, appears to have been dumped, rather than buried, and was found in association with a number of sixth-century fusiform unguentaria. Not all the heads were found at this location. The medallions for two busts were found, Apollonios and an unidentified subject, but the heads were missing. The head of Pythagoras had been found twenty-two years earlier in the theater.[48] Perhaps these two heads of leading patrons of Neoplatonist thought and their anonymous companion were singled out for special treatment, or mistreatment. It may even be that they were removed and paraded for special recognition and mockery, similar to the treatment of the statuary from the Serapeum at Alexandria. But this is pure speculation. One head, that of a sophist was "found inside the apse beneath the present floor level;" parts of the bust were found behind the apse with the other heads. It is not clear in the publication what this floor level represents. If this is a new floor installed shortly after the removal of objectionable sculpture, perhaps a renovation at the hands of new "Christian" owners is suggested. In the end, I am not sure the Aphrodisias material is an example of ritual disposal. The placement does show, however, that someone found the sculpture problematic and after defacing and ritually killing some of the heads, disposed of them in a dark, inaccessible area, rather than reusing the material or throwing them in a large trash pit.[49]

---

[45] The encryption of revered pieces of pagan sculpture is well attested, but in all instances the pieces are not buried, but rather placed behind walls. See Socrates 3.2-3, 5.16 and Sozomen 5.7 on the Serapeum. The author of the *Vie de Sévère* (Patr. Orient. II) 27ff. reports the recovery of hidden idols from behind a false wall at the temple of Isis in Memphis. Meiggs (1973) 401 reports that during excavations at Ostia a statue of Attis along with dedications were found behind wall in temple of Cybele, apparently having been hidden there.

[46] The house is variously called House C and Omega House. Shear (1971) 267-275; Shear (1972) 156-63; Camp (1986) 202-12; Frantz (1989) 48, 87-90; Camp, (1989). The argument presented by the excavators for Christianization is weak. Other than the mutilation of statuary, the excavators point to the presence of a sigma table in the debris from the house and the replacement of the center panel of mosaic with a symmetrical "cross." My interpretation of the house as Christianized is based solely on the sculpture; the sigma table and the "cross," in and of themselves, are rather meaningless. References to this house as a philosopher's school are unjustified. I am forced to agree with Sodini (1984) 349 on the published interpretation of House C: "*Cette interprétation de la vie de l'edifice paraît trop imaginative*." See also Fowden (1990) 496 for a rejection of the excavators interpretation of the disposed sculpture and Bowersock (1991b) 358 for an attempted refutation of Fowden.

[47] Brinkerhoff (1970).

The above should not be taken to mean that individuals never buried statues for reasons other than ritual disposal. Malalas 13.7 reports that Constantine secretly buried the Palladion from Rome under the column that supported his statue, where it acted as a "foundation offering." Many reports of buried objects represent the accidental or deliberate excavation of "antiquities" rather than the recovery of deliberately buried objects. Olympiodoros 1.27 refers to sacred apotropaic statues that were dug up, and Priscus 1.12.1-2 mentions a magic buried sword found by Attila. Malalas 13.3 reports a statue of Poseidon was found accidentally while a new church was being built. Isidore of Pelusium (d. 435) (*P.G.* 78, 217) tells that "Hellenes" dug up remains in the Temple of Artemis and worshipped them. As always, each case must be evaluated on its own merits.

---

[48] Smith (1991) 159.

[49] For the location, Smith (1990) 128-31. For the heads see Smith (1990) 141-8. One might also consider the re-use of inverted relief sculpture as paving stones in a courtyard at Aphrodisias; Trombley (1993) 203. Other examples exist. Sanders (1982) 84 notes a deposit of sculpture in a pit cut through a mosaic at the temple of Asklepios at Lissos. These sculptural fragments included statues of youth, Hygieia and a headless Asklepios; the walls of this temple were inscribed with crosses. The Lissos deposit may be the best example of a ritual burial of the cult statuary by Christians, but because of the incomplete nature of its publications, I do not wish to place great weight on it here. A deposit of buried statues in a trench in theaters at Arles and Vaison (France) seems to have been a ritual deposit: DACL XV.2 1661; Martroye (1921) (but note the caution expressed by Blanchet in response to Martroye's suggestion, *op. cit.* 154). Karageorghis (1964) 4 reports many statues at Salamis (Cyprus) were found in drains and the Arabs placed many in a watertank. Ritual deposits could, of course, have been made in a trash pit. The problem of the archaeologist is differentiation between trash pits and ritual deposits. I suspect that more such deposits have been dug yet were unrecognized, or unrecognizable.

II. Pagan Sculpture in the Late-Antique Korinthia[50]

There is very little direct evidence for the role sculpture played in the life of late-antique Corinth. Moved, destroyed and reused in later periods, little of the sculpture remained in the location for which it was originally intended. The head of a pagan priest (S920, #321) dating to the first half of the fifth century of our era, and the sculpture associated with it, is the only substantial evidence of sculpture used in cult activity in the late-antique period. Finds of mutilated, defaced and ritually deposited sculpture in the Korinthia confirm, however, that sculpture was venerated and treated in the manner described in the first section of this chapter.

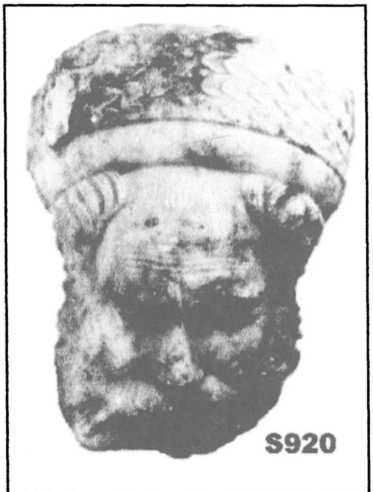


Figure 20: Priest's head.

Even the limited evidence confirms that sculpture was important in late-antique Corinth. The third century saw no small amount of sculptural activity, and it was in the Severan period that the Captives Façade was erected. Several high quality portraits from this century have been recovered. This sculptural prosperity continued into the fourth, fifth and even sixth centuries when sculpture, probably of local Korinthian manufacture and some of the latest known from the Greek mainland, still was produced.[51]

Several pieces of sculpture from Corinth appear to have been defaced. One of these pieces (S2654), a sculpted bust, has had its face sliced off, perhaps deliberately, and was placed in a well. This piece, however, was found in a second century well deposit. I include this as a warning. Without knowing the approximate date for the damage to this sculpted bust, one might easily assume that the mutilation occurred at the hands of the Christians. This could not be, however, in the second century. The piece may indeed have undergone some sort of ritual defacement, but at this early date almost certainly not at the hands of Christians. Some of the pieces discussed below, as many of the pieces discussed already, do not have clear contexts; it is usually impossible to date or determine the cause of any damage to them with absolute certainty. Of the few certain examples of mutilation in Greece that are datable, all are from late antiquity. I think we are usually safe in assigning a late antique context to clearly mutilated statuary, but I am not certain.

---

[50] Numbers preceded by "S" (sculpture) and "I" (inscription) are Corinth inventory numbers; numbers preceded by "#" are catalogue numbers from Johnson (1931). Numbers preceded by "IS" are inventory numbers from the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia.

[51] This summary is taken from Ridgeway (1981) 443-8. For Roman sculpture, see also the dissertation of de Grazia (1973).

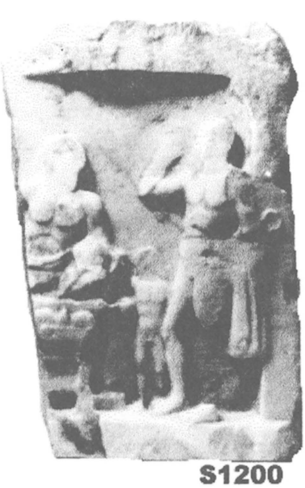


Figure 21: Sepulchral relief.

Several sculptural pieces from Corinth have been mutilated with a chisel or similar device. A colossal head (S889, #20) was also so vigorously chiseled that the face was removed. The head has a filet with two holes for the insertion of rays and probably represented a deity. Another head (S1412) was similarly defaced.[52] Three reliefs, all funerary, were deliberately defaced. Unfortunately the findspots of these reliefs are unknown. In one, a Classical sepulchral banquet relief (S1200), all the faces have been sheared off, including that of the central child. On the top of the child's head a mark from the chisel blow that removed the face is clearly visible and there can be no question that the damage was deliberate.[53] In a banqueting hero relief (S1397/2812), the faces of both the hero and female figure have been sheared off. The tombstone of one Apollonia Eouporia (I874) was also defaced. In this instance the facial features of the woman reclining on a couch were carefully, and rather gently, chiseled out.[54]

Three pieces of sculpture from Corinth have been inscribed with crosses. A herm (S202) has a cross very neatly inscribed on its front. The fate of the head is unknown but it seems likely the herm was decapitated as part of the defacement; the genitals appear worn rather than mutilated. Half of a torso

---

[52] S1412 head was found along with a ram's head reportedly sliced in half (S1405). The faces of a triple Hecate (S2270/2319) appear to have been deliberately sheared off, but the top of the sculpture is broken and the faces may have been accidentally damaged. This triple Hecate was found in Byzantine fill.

[53] *AD* 4 (1918) 1; Ridgeway (1981) 421. I have assumed that this mutilation took place in the late-antique period. If so, we must ask how the mutilating individual happened to come across a classical sepulchral relief. It may have been encountered in a sanctuary, or perhaps was just a random find.

[54] In my dissertation (Rothaus (1993)) I suggested that the West Shop capitals may have been defaced. While I think they were indeed re-worked, I no longer accept this idea of defacement and thus exclude them here.

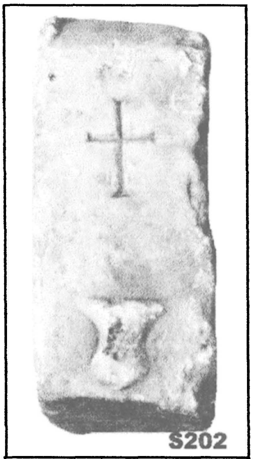


Figure 22: Cross-inscribed herm.

(S3361) found under a Byzantine wall has a cross roughly and sloppily inscribed in its upper arm. The placement of the cross on the arm is unique and the statue is part of the foundation of a wall, a common fate of sculpture in the Byzantine period.[55] The head of a bearded male (S919), perhaps a philosopher, has a cross lightly inscribed on its forehead.

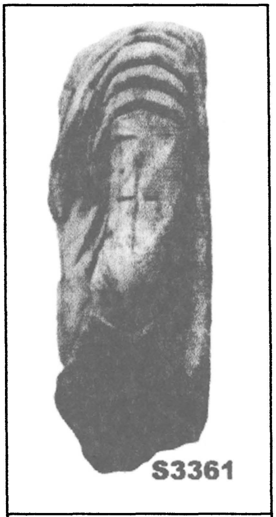


Figure 23: Cross-inscribed torso.

The "philosopher" (S919) is part of a sculptural, and I think cultic, group found near the lower Peirene spring. The group includes the "philosopher's" head, a priest's head, a head of Dionysus, and the head of a female. The philosopher head (S919) dates to the second half of the fifth century of our era. The priest's head (S920, #321) is late antique in date (Figure 20). The presentation of an individual as a pagan priest, as indicated by de Grazia, could be a stylistic device rather than a depiction of an actual priest. The context of this head indicates, however, that it was part of a cult collection, and it can best be seen as a representation of a real priest. Both the philosopher and priest were found in one of the drains of Peirene.[56] Close by, in the great drain of the Peribolos of Apollo were found two other heads, one a head of Dionysus (S987, #27) and the other a female head (S986, #164) that may date as late as the

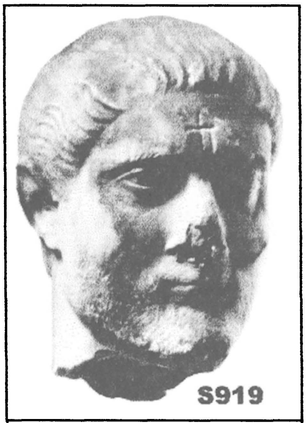


Figure 24: Cross-inscribed head.

---

[55] For the placement of sculpture in foundations see Merrifield (1987) 105-6. A portrait head (S1445a) was also deliberately placed in a bothros under a wall of unknown date at Corinth. For other togated statues in walls see S50 (#193) and S51 (#194).

[56] For the date of S919 see De Grazia (1973) 229. For location see Corinth Notebook 49, p. 128. This drain was dug in 1908 and the records are not thorough.

sixth century of our era.[57] Near to these and probably associated with them, but from an unknown context were found a badly damaged male portrait head of the second half of the fifth century B.C. (S1454) and another head of the same type (S909, #183).[58]

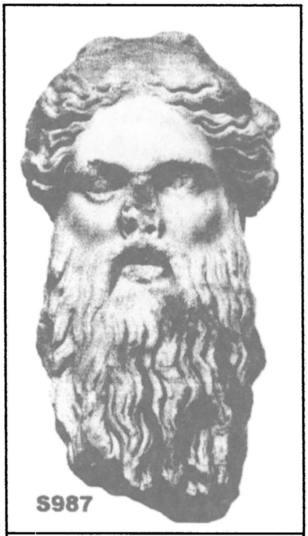


Figure 25: Dionysos.

The deposition of these heads is peculiar. While they do not form a true deposit, or even come from the same location, their placement in a chthonic setting is enough to give pause. Most of the region was dug in early excavations, and the exact stratigraphy has been lost. That they were placed in the drains in late antiquity is clear; more precision is not possible. The context alone does not, therefore, demand a ritual deposit; they could be simple debris. Nevertheless, placement in the drain is similar enough to other examples of ritual disposal that the possibility is raised. The identity and conditions of the heads, combined with the their proximity and chronology, provide a reasonable amount of certainty.

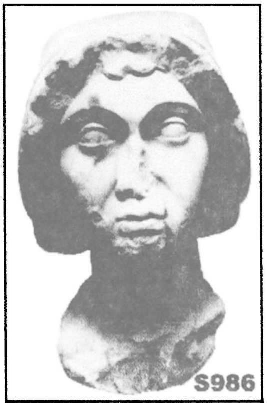


Figure 26: Female head.

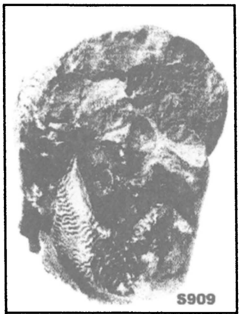


Figure 27: Battered male head.

Exactly what this proposed cultic group represents is difficult to determine. The nature of the cult that housed these sculptures remains unclear. Perhaps it was a cult of Dionysus, but we cannot be certain. The cult continued to have priests in the classical manner, however, as demonstrated by the early fifth century priest's head. This late-antique depiction seems to be a sculptural manifestation of a continued cult hierarchy. The presence of the other heads, three males and one female, is indicative. Perhaps they too were priests or priestesses; perhaps they represented deities; but whoever they were, their images also were important to the cult.

---

[57] De Grazia (1973) 238.

[58] See De Grazia (1973) 234 -6.

One deity is represented in the group: Dionysus. One head is a portrait of a late-antique pagan priest. Three other portrait heads are standard, except that one has been inscribed with a cross. The combination of a god, a priest, and a mark of Christian ire, in combination with a context that seems to be a ritual deposit makes this a group of particular interest. The heads found near Peirene are probably part of a cult group, and the addition of a head to this group as late as the first half of the sixth century probably indicates a cult flourishing into this late period. At some unknown period, but probably in the second half of the sixth century or even early seventh century the cult group was seized and disposed in a ritual deposit. The inscribed cross points towards hostile Christian activity.[59]

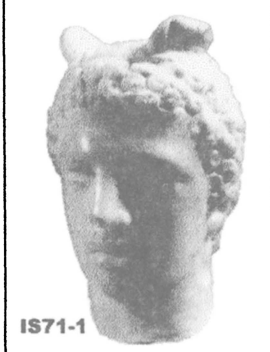


Figure 28: Horned god.

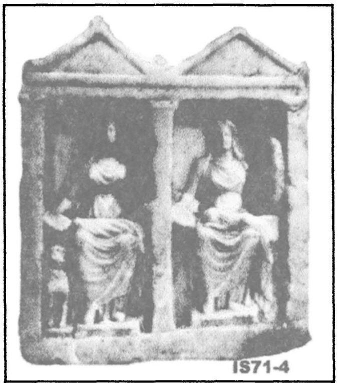


Figure 29: Twin Cybeles.

A group of sculpture found at Isthmia may have been another cult collection. Six pieces of sculpture were found within a collapsed room in the structure(s) east of the Temple of Poseidon.[60] These include a miniature head of a horned-god (IS 71-1), a double naiskos of twin Cybeles bearing the inscription *ΜΗΤΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ* (IS 71-4), a three figured relief stele, probably representing Hygeia, Asklepios and Telesphoros (IS 71-5), a three figured relief stele, probably of nymphs (IS 71-6), and a female head (IS 71-3).[61] The room in which these sculptures were stored collapsed in the late fourth or early fifth century. The sculptures were not buried, but rather rested upon what probably was the earthen floor of the room. Nearby was found a hoard of coins.[62] It appears that the sculpture and coins were simply in storage, perhaps in a back room. The reliefs are particularly crude works and probably would not have been part of an art collection. Whether these sculptures were still functioning as cult objects when the room collapsed we cannot tell, but the predominance of depictions of deities (five out of six) implies at least that they had been gathered either for cult purposes or perhaps placed in a back room as no longer useful.

---

[59] The sculpture of well 61-11 at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary may represent a ritual deposit. This well contained a female life size head (S2666) that may have been defaced (tip of nose, chin and mouth broken), a female life size head (S2667) again probably defaced (broken off 1/3 of way up neck, nose and lower portion of face broken away), a slightly over life sized female head (S2668) that seems to have been deliberately battered (note esp. chip in right cheek), and several fragments (S2662-2665). The debris dates to the time of destruction of the sanctuary, however, and may simply be clean-up. Bookides (1972) 284 and personal communication.

[60] This structure or structures are largely unpublished, but see Peppers (1979) 215-9 for a summary of the houses, 220-71 for ceramics from the area.

[61] These are in order, Lattimore (n.d.) nos. 4, 89, 90, 91 and 3. All are probably early Imperial. On the Nymphs see Peppers (1978).

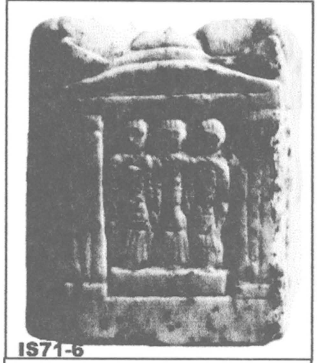


Figure 30: Three nymphs.

Several individual pieces of sculpture have been found in wells and drains in and around Corinth. In one drain a small head of Aphrodite (S72-18) a statuette of Aphrodite crouching (S72-19), a head perhaps of Perseus or Hermes (S72-4), a torso without a head (S72-5), a hand (S72-20), and a leg (S72-21) were found in fills that date to the 6th century of our era. A bearded male head (S2621) was found in a well by a villager and another bearded male head was found in an underground chamber near the Baths of Aphrodite (S2625). While these may represent ritual deposits, lack of evidence precludes certainty. A small head (S75-3) found in fourth and fifth century fill in a well, the bearded head (S1933) found in fourth to sixth century fill in a cistern, and the small sandstone head (S77-16) found in drain fill datable to the sixth or seventh century probably represent ritual deposits. But the deposition of individual pieces of sculpture is more difficult to judge than that of groups and such an interpretation must remain tenuous.

An examination of the fate of sculpture in late-antique Corinth, although often connected with action of Christians, has confirmed and explicated one aspect of the nature of pagan cult in late-antique Corinth. Sculpture was of great concern to at least some Christians in Corinth; the obvious corollary to this is that sculpture was important to some of the pagans in Corinth also. The zeal demonstrated in some of the mutilations, and the specific nature of some of the ritual disposals resulted from a Christian reaction to a real threat, contemporary pagan activity. Sculpture continued to be venerated in late-antique Corinth, and probably held a central position in cult activity. Unfortunately, the evidence rarely allows us to learn more specifically what cult activity was occurring.

Some cult activity would, of course, have been private, and the cult paraphernalia would then have been located in private residences or shops. The collection of late-antique portraits in association with the head of Dionysus may represent a public collection. The location of these sculptures in

[62] Beaton and Clement (1976). The latest coin of the hoard can be no later than A.D. 383.

the forum, and perhaps the traditional priest's apparel of the one head may indicate that these are the remnants of a cult housed in a public space, perhaps the Peribolos of Apollo. But there is another possibility. Just north of Peirene and the Peribolos of Apollo a large and rather wealthy house was constructed in the fifth or perhaps sixth century.[63] As mentioned above, private collections of sculpture were popular in the late-antique period. The collection that included the Dionysus and pagan priest heads seems to have the trappings of classical, public cult, but may have been housed in this private residence. The ejection of the statues would require no more than the conversion or death of one leading individual or the rebellion of a newly converted son inheriting the home.

The fifth and sixth centuries in Corinth saw a reaction against pagan sculpture resulting in the mutilation and ritual deposition of many sculptures. Some of these outbursts must have been vigorous, as attested by the excessive mutilation of some faces, but there is no need to assume any large, violent Christian outbursts of the sort that happened at Antioch. While it is possible that all the mutilation and disposal was part of one orchestrated program or one violent outburst, this seems unlikely. The pieces are scattered, not collected in one spot and there is no general destruction. A series of periodic, perhaps private, "attacks" against pagan sculpture, in the fifth and more predominantly sixth centuries seems most probable.[64] The reactions were not responses to a dying tradition, but a response to active and continuing non-Christian cult. Not only are the actions revelatory of Christian and non-Christian tension, they also reveal how much alike the two groups in Corinth were. Both agreed that the statuary contained power; the only question was whether that power was beneficial or maleficent.[65]

---

[63] Scranton (1957) 16-21. See also Chapter III for this structure.

[64] An altar inverted and used as the base for a statue of Constan II (641-668) may be simple re-use of an available piece of stone, or may be symbolic of the triumph of the Emperor over Paganism.

[65] See Carroll (1992) esp. 67-87 for a modern example of the multifacted powers of saints, who can bring both things good and things bad. Perhaps the situation in antiquity is not so far removed, and we must be fully aware of the highly fluid characters of such phenomena.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NYMPHS AND ANGELS

Just west of the Asklepieion of Corinth, an abandoned bath structure found its final form as a place dubbed by the excavators the "Fountain of the Lamps" (Plan 2).[1] This flooded, partially subterranean complex served as a cult center in late antiquity and was the site of dedications of lamps, coins, and curse tablets. In part a cult of the Nymphs, this locale apparently served both a variety of worshippers, including Christians. The Fountain of the Lamps provides a unique glimpse into the private cult of a population undergoing a profound religious transformation. The site also serves as an excellent example of the various religious traditions of the area. It is neither Christian nor "pagan," and its inability to be categorized highlights the inapplicability of such terms.

The Fountain of the Lamps was excavated in 1967-69 during investigations of the gymnasium of Corinth. The site is located along one of the bluffs at the northern edge of the city (near the course of the late Roman city wall). These bluffs are composed largely of marl, a soil of mixed clay and calcium carbonate, capped by a limestone conglomerate. The marl, a legacy of the sub-oceanic heritage of the regional geography, is largely impermeable to water, and numerous springs and water flows have found exits along this northern bluff. The Fountain of the Lamps is located at one of these natural springs, which still remains active today.

In the fourth or fifth century B.C. a small bath was constructed to take advantage of this natural water source. In its simplest form , this bath consisted of a man-made subterranean chamber equipped with water channels and basins. The bath continued to function until the second century B.C., and the chamber reached a size of approximately six meters by three meters. An exterior courtyard probably was a part of the Greek complex, at least from the Hellenistic period.[2] After a period of abandonment, the structure was rebuilt in the middle of the first century A.D., perhaps as part of a probable Claudian period rehabilitation and expansion of Corinth.[3] This rebuilding included the subterranean bath chamber, an exterior courtyard (perhaps 225m^2), and a sunken pool (perhaps 100 m^2).[4] The basic structure of the bath complex then remained more or less unaltered for several centuries.

---

[1] The Fountain of the Lamps, excavated in the 1960's, has not been fully published, and the American excavator has not responded to my requests to see the lamps and excavation notebooks. Given the passage of over thirty years since the excavation of the material, and half a decade of correspondence concerning possible access to the material, it seemed best to go forward on the basis of the preliminary published information, rather than further delay analysis of this important site. Parts of this chapter appeared in an earlier form as Rothaus (1996).

Around A.D. 400 the ceiling of the structure collapsed and the complex was ruined.[5] The bathhouse and parts of the courtyard and pool were flooded. Debris from the collapse and dumping cluttered the area. A terracotta waterline seems to have been installed in this period (or maybe shortly before) to allow continued use of the water source. Some limited "construction" in the early sixth century allowed for access to the area of the courtyard and the subterranean chamber. The area along the southeast of the complex was delineated by a wall of reused stones, and a ramp was constructed that allowed descent into the pool. Additionally, the entrance to the underground bath was kept partially cleared. Towards the end of the sixth century the edge of the bluff collapsed, the entire bath and courtyard complex were buried, and the structure was sealed and abandoned. It was during the period between the late fourth century destruction and the middle sixth century collapse that the Fountain became a repository for votive offerings.[6]

While we cannot be sure of the exact method of making offerings, there are multiple possibilities. Votives could have been cast from above into the partially flooded complex. The walled-off area in the courtyard could have been used for ritual activity, and the ramp allowed access into the pool and the subterranean chamber. The majority of the votive objects were found inside the underground bath chamber, and we should envision, I think, worshippers at the very least approaching the entrance to this chamber, and very often entering the chamber itself.[7]

---

[2] The excavations were conducted under the direction of James Wiseman by the University of Texas at Austin under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. For the Fountain of the Lamps see Wiseman (1970); Wiseman (1972); Garnett (1975); Jordan (1975). For the excavations at the Gymnasium see also Wiseman (1967a); Wiseman (1967b); Dengate (1981); Catling (1972); Williams (1974); Williams (1976); Michaud (1971); Michaud (1972). The inscribed lamps have been re-published with corrected readings in Jordan (1994). The importance of this site has not generally been noted, but see Gregory (1986) 233.

[3] See Williams (1993) and Rothaus (1995) 300 for building activity in Corinth and Lechaion.

[4] Only the north-south dimensions of these areas are known. For no compelling reasons, I have restored them as square.

[5] Probably during one of the late fourth century earthquakes; Wiseman (1972) 23 proposes the canonical A.D. 375, or perhaps A.D. 365. See Rothaus (1993a) and Chapter II. See Chapter III for damage at the nearby Asklepeion during the same period.

[6] See Wiseman (1972) 23-24, 27. The terminal date for activity at the Fountain of the Lamps is unclear to me. The lamps themselves seem to date only up to the middle sixth century, but there is a late sixth century coin hoard in the area. See Garnett (1975) for the lamps, Dengate (1981) for the coin hoard.

By far the most popular votive item (of those preserved in the archaeological record) was the terracotta lamp; over 4000 lamps were recovered, and nearly half of these were intact. In addition to the lamps, forty-five coins, ranging in date from the mid-fourth to the mid-sixth centuries, were found, and four lead *defixiones* were recovered.[8] Incomplete publication prevents discussion of what other votives might have been present, but the large number of intact bowls and small jugs found may indicate that these too were votive offerings.[9]

The lamps themselves are not unusual, although this large deposit is the basis for the chronology of late Roman lamps of Korinthian manufacture. The vast majority, approximately 80%, of the lamps were, in fact, of local manufacture.[10] The rest of the lamps are contemporaneous imports, mostly Attic. Over 300 different lamp designs and disc patterns have been identified and there is no indication that the decoration of a lamp played any role in its suitability as an offering.[11] The images ranged from patterned discs and the ever-popular Eros to Christian crosses and displays of Old Testament mythology. The votive lamps range in date from the mid-fifth to the middle or perhaps late sixth century, and the vast majority are early sixth century.[12] These lamps date the cult activity, indicate a high point of popularity in the early, and to a lesser degree, middle sixth century.

Four of the lamps recovered from the Fountain of the Lamps have graffiti inscribed upon them. Graffiti on lamps, while not unheard of, are rather unusual.[13] These inscribed lamps are of particular importance. One lamp invokes the " + angels who dwell upon these waters" [14] Another lamp bears a standard magical formula including the phrase "I invoke you by the great god Sabaoth, by Michael, by Gabriel, in order that you do . . . ."[15] A third offers a standard Christian formula: "Be merciful to your servant Fabiana"[16]

The reference to the "angels who dwell upon these waters" is most revelatory, for it provides a glimpse of what was envisioned by at least some of the patrons of the Fountain of the Lamps. The site was a location inhabited by entities, in this instance described as *ἄγγελοι*. The term can be non-Christian in literature, and in inscriptions in parts of Asia Minor, but a small cross is inscribed at the beginning of this graffito. The cross is standard at the beginning and sometimes end of Christian inscriptions in the Korinthia, and its juxtaposition with the *ἄγγελοι* makes it clear that the reference is Christian.[17] It seems, therefore, that the Fountain of the Lamps was venerated by Christians. With this limited evidence we cannot, of course, ascertain what sorts of beliefs and rituals the Christian community brought to this site.[18]

---

[7] See Wiseman (1972) 32 n. 71 for evidence of entrances into the chamber.

[8] For the coins and *defixiones* see Wiseman (1972) 32-3.

[9] David Jordan, personal communication.

[10] Garnett (1975) 174-5.

[11] Garnett (1975) 184.

[12] Garnett (1975) 186. While the internal chronology of the Korinthian imitation lamps sequences is not precise, the terminal dates for the lamps recoverd from the Fountain of the Lamps is relatively secure. For the ongoing battle over late Roman lamp chronology in Greece see Wohl (1981), Slane (1990) 21-22, H. Williams (1981) 49-54. Arja Karivieri and Judith Binder have helpfully discussed this issue with me. Throughout this dissertation I have followed the revised dating proposed by Binder and Karivieri; Karivieri (1996).

[13] See Nilsson (1950) 108-9 for examples. *PDM* 14.150-231 lists a spell to make a god appear through the use of a lamp.

[14] L-69-103; The initial readings of the lamps in Wiseman (1972) 28-30 are incorrect. See Jordan (1994).

[15] L 4607.

[16] L-69-104.

This does not mean that the Fountain of the Lamps was a Christian cult site. In fact, there can be no doubt that it was also a cult of the Nymphs. Four lead curse tablets were found in the Fountain of the Lamps. Publication of these is not yet complete, but one of them is an invocation of the Nymphs.[19] Just as important as these finds, however, is the large number of well-attested cave cults in Greece, all of which share in common a penchance for large numbers of votive lamps, and were, as we shall see, cults of the Nymphs. The subterranean Fountain of the Lamps, while as much man-made structure as cave, fits this genre of site and must be considered part of this phenomenon. While it may be a trick of archaeological preservation, the thousands of votive lamps left in caves through Greece in the Late Roman period seem to indicate that this was one of the most popular forms of late-antique pagan activity.[20]

Caves and subterranean places were, of course, always places of magic and areas particularly appropriate to liminal activity.[21] Moreover, caves and sources of water were especially suitable for activities of Pan and Nymphs.[22] Cave use, especially for cult purposes was common in classical times, and again in the late Roman period.[23] In Attica, several caves were given over to cult use in late antiquity. Cult activity in these caves seems to have focused primarily upon the dedication of lamps, and perhaps other ceramic vessels. The lamps, numbering in the thousands, are far too numerous to be remains from simple usage and must be votive offerings. While I have not been able to examine the lamps for evidence of usage, it seems most likely that they were left burning in the cave and were not reused after their dedication.[24]

---

[17] J.H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII, iii: *The Inscriptions 1926-1950* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966) nos. 522-25, 530-37, 539-41, 552, 553, 555-566, 582, 585, 588, 589, 597, 604, 605, 619-621, 629, 630, 644, 650, 653, 655, 661, 662, 664, 672, 682 (I have excluded chi-rho from the list). See also from the Gymnasium excavations, I-69-14 (I-70-21) and I-70-20, both tombstones; Wiseman (1972) 41. The equilateral cross is, it should be noted, an extremely popular magical symbol as well. For the use of the cross to Christianize pagan formulae, see F. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993) 183-4. Cf. A.R.R. Sheppard, "Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor" *Talanta* 13/14 (1980/81) 77-101.

[18] Jordan (1994) 227-8 has, however, identified some fascinating parallels to cults of healing angels, and nocturnal baptismal rituals.

[19] Wiseman (1972) 33 and David Jordan, personal communication.

[20] One must be careful not to forget that perishable offerings, especially food, but also wood and less durable material, rarely leave any trace in the archaeological record.

[21] From the ancient world see Porphyry, *Cave of the Nymphs* 5-11. See Trombley (1993) 43-44 for a selection of subterranean cults.

[22] Elderkin (1941); Amandry (1984). Cf. Wiseman (1972) 27.

[23] Wickens (1986) 210.

Dedicatory lamps and candles were common in a variety of settings throughout antiquity, including the Roman period.[25] Such activity continued in the late Roman period. As discussed, I have identified in Corinth a fifth and sixth century chapel with 72 votive lamps, a tomb with 162 lamps, and continued dedications of lamps at the Temple of Asklepios (and perhaps Temple E) long after the temple was destroyed.[26] The lamp was common in Christian and non-Christian ritual, and extremely popular in magic. Spells used lamps for a variety of things, including divination, invocations, control of others, curing headaches, and making others appear to have donkey's snouts.[27]

The Vari cave, located on Mt. Hymettos, was excavated in 1901 and has proven to be the most obvious of all the cult caves.[28] Inscriptions record that a certain Archedamos built the shrine at the instigation of the Nymphs. Several reliefs and a carving of Archedamos himself were found; these may have been mutilated by Christians.[29] Additionally, in the late-antique period a wall may have been constructed or reconstructed, perhaps as a repository for votives, and a leveling of the inside of the cave was undertaken in the fourth or fifth century.[30] The votive lamps, which numbered almost one thousand, were deposited in the cave during the fifth and sixth centuries.[31] Early interpretations argued that the lamps were Christian votives, based on what was seen as predominately Christian images on the discs. This does not, however, hold true. Even if one were to assume that the image on a lamp was related to its cult usage, *contra* the excavators, the majority of the lamps do not display Christian images.[32] Given the positive identification of the site as cult of the Nymphs (as well as Pan) it seems perverse to see the cult activity as anything but dedications to the Nymphs. Moreover, it seems likely that Christians defaced this sanctuary and the relief of Archedamos, a sure indicator of the "pagan" nature of this cult site.

---

[24] Cf. Wickens (1986) 212.

[25] Nilsson (1950).

[26] See Chapter III for the chapel, tomb, and Temple E.

[27] PGM 2.64-183, 3.1-164, 4.930-1114), 4.3209-54, 5.1-53, 5.304-69, 7.25-54, 7.255-59, 7.359-69, 376-84, 7.407-410. 7.411-16, 7.540-78, 7.593-629, 11b.1-5, 22b.27-31, 22b.32-35, 52.1-24, 102.1-17; PDM 14.117-49, 14.150-231. All of these spells date from about the third century of our era. The list is far from exhaustive; these are all available in Betz (1986). For lychnomanteia see Lucian, *V.H.* 2.29.

[28] For the excavations see Weller (1903). Cf. Wilkens (1986) 90-121.

[29] See above, Chapter VII.

[30] Weller (1903) 285-6; Wickens (1986) 117.

[31] Weller (1903) 338 offer a fourth century date for most of the lamps. New datings place most of the lamps in the fifth century and leave open the real possibility that some of them are sixth century. Cf. Wickens (1986) 106. I have been unable to see these lamps (see note 1).

[32] Wickens (1986) 108-9.

Other cult caves have been located in Attica. The Phyle Pan Cave, sometimes referred to as Lychnospilia, produced over two thousand lamps, most of which were late Roman.[33] Inscriptions and reliefs, some as late as the third and fourth centuries of our era, indicate that this was a cave of Pan and the Nymphs. The Eleusis Pan cave, destroyed by the Titan cement company in 1955, contained hundreds of objects and lamps of mixed date, including late Roman. These finds have not been fully published, but it may well be that the lamps are late Roman dedications.[34] The Marathon Cave has also been reported to have contained late Roman lamps.[35] Additionally, Roman lamps of indeterminate date have been reported from Karabola cave, located on Mt. Parnes.[36]

Given the Attic parallels and the curse tablet invoking the Nymphs, we can be certain that the Fountain of the Lamps was a cult of the Nymphs. The cult activity must have included prayers, invocations and offerings thrown into the water. It is easy to envision lamps being lit and then set adrift in the flooded area. Coins were also thrown into the pool, and it is possible that bowls and jugs, perhaps filled with perishable offerings were also deposited. The Fountain of the Lamps was simultaneously a home of the Nymphs and a place to commune with Christian angels. A myriad of other possibilities exist, of course. These are two identifications that we know of; other residents of Corinth might have envisioned the site as something still different.

The explosion of votive lamp dedications in late-antique Greece marks a change in non-Christian cult activity. I have argued above that dedication of lamps at the Asklepieion and other sites may have been an adaptation of cult activity in a reaction to the ban on sacrifice.[37] But this is only one aspect of the situation. As we have seen, at the Fountain of the Lamps it is not just "pagans" performing desperate rituals in hidden places. We have instead, if we judge by the basis of non-perishable votive objects, the most popular cult site in the Korinthia from any period. Dedications of over 4000 lamps and other objects in a period of over a century represents rituals that must have been very visible and well known to the population. It is likely that pagan ritual practices underwent transformations in the period as a result of increasing pressure from Christian elites; the emphasis on cave cults, rather than cult celebrations in the city centers reflects this. It is also likely that the general population was not given to draw such fine distinctions between Christian and non-Christian ritual, and was likewise influenced by these dynamics and trends. The pagan-Christian dichotomy failed to function at a social and ritual level (or at least was not fully functional), and thus it was not possible to influence "pagan" behavior without influencing Christian behavior.[38]

---

[33] Wickens (1986) 246-69 and bibliography cited there. For the lamps see Wickens (1986) 259-60.

[34] Wickens (1986) 275-279 and bibliography cited there.

[35] Wickens (1986) 212.

[36] Wickens (1986) 243-246 and bibliography cited there.

[37] Above, Chapter III.

Polysemous cult sites are not unknown, and that at Mamre in Palestine provides a striking parallel for the Fountain of the Lamps. The Oak of Mamre was a cult site for pagans, Jews and Christians. Moreover, their feast days all fell together so that one could find a variety of individuals at this site at the same time, worshipping quite different deities. The situation is described in detail by Sozomen, an ecclesiastical historian who was born to pagan parents in fifth century Gaza. Ostensibly, Sozomen writes of activity that occurred during the reign of Constantine. Sozomen's elaborate and detailed descriptions certainly lead one to believe, however, that he had personally witnessed (or perhaps been told by his parents) of such activity. It is a common rhetorical device of late antique Christian historians to place contemporary pagan activity in the reign of Constantine, as all pagan activity became illegal, and thus theoretically was non-existent, shortly thereafter.[39]

Sozomen describes a scene of chaotic celebration with diverse peoples and religions gathered together in one great festival at one holy site. His descriptions of tent dwellers, business dealings and family affairs impart an excellent view of what a festival in late antiquity must have been like. But for our purposes here we are interested in what Sozomen says about cult activity (2.4.3-6):

> The festival was celebrated by all, by the Jews because they honor Abraham the patriarch, by the Hellenes because it is the dwelling place of angels, and by the Christians because at one time Christ manifested himself there to a holy man, revealing that at a later time he would come through the virgin for the salvation of the human race. They honored this place appropriately with worship, some praying to the God of all, others calling on the angels, pouring libations with wine or burning frankincense or oxen or goats or sheep or cocks. . . . During the time of the celebration, no one draws water from that place. For according to Hellenic custom some deposited burning lamps, and some offered wine or threw in round offering cakes, and other coins or myrrh or incense. And because of this, as is likely, the water became unfit by the action of the material thrown in.

Sozomen makes it clear that Mamre was a cult site for pagans, Christians and Jews alike; what he does not make clear is who is participating in which rituals. Perhaps he is purposefully vague in his identification of the participants in the specific cult practices. He does not state that the Hellenes (here meaning "pagans") offered lamps, but he states that lamps were offered according to Hellenic ("pagan") custom. The implication is, I think, that all--pagans, Christians and Jews--were involved in the same sorts of rituals. Sozomen as a Christian partisan saw rituals as being "pagan" or "Christian;" the participants probably did not. The rituals were the same, although the deities being addressed by the rituals were different. The cult at Mamre does more than witness late-antique cult practice, especially the use of lamps; it illustrates the ambiguity and polysemnity of late-antique cult practice. Pagans, Christians and Jews all worshipped side by side at Mamre, and were apparently quite happy doing so.

---

[38] Wickens (1986) 214-5. In the end, I think the situation is even more complex and dynamic, and cannot be explained on purely religious terms. cf. Wickens (1986) 218-219, 224-5 where he notes that there is also a marked increase in non-cultic usage of cave sites in the late-antique period. Perhaps the phenomenon is related to some larger population or settlement trend. Wickens (1986) 225, following Gregory (1986), suggests that the cave usage is related to a period of "renewed prosperity and perhaps increased population." If this is true, than a revival of cult caves may also be a response to such pressures.

[39] Cf. Eusebius, *V.C.* 3.51-2, Deichmann (1939) 107-8, 120.

The activity at Mamre provides an excellent parallel to the activity at the Fountain of the Lamps. Not only is the practice of throwing lamps and other dedications into the water identical, but the same milieu of pagans and Christians worshipping similar beings (daimones and angeloi) in similar manners at the same time and at the same site is evidenced. The Fountain of the Lamps was an ambiguous place. Christians as well as pagans could leave votives in nearly identical ritual. For this reason, the terms pagan and Christians seem of little use at the Fountain of the Lamps. The cult practices and the goal of reaching entities, be they called Nymphs or *ἄγγελοι*, were identical, and differentiation on the basis of practice is impossible.

The Fountain of the Lamps is a good example of the failure of the sets "pagan" and "Christian." If the historian were to attempt to bisect Christian and non-Christian activity at the site, he would meet with failure. Moreover, I think the Fountain of the Lamps may have been a site where the practitioners themselves did not make the differentiation. I, at least, can envision a situation in which the person leaving a votive lamp not only could not tell if the person next to him was a Christian, but would not even think to ask the question. It is not completely unreasonable, in fact, to imagine that the common citizen of Corinth might, if asked, have a hard time defining what made a Christian, and whether he himself were one. One certainly sees indications of such from the sermons of John Chrysostom, where he harangues his congregation about visiting temples and magicians. In the west, one might refer to Paulinus, who at Nola developed Christian vows and sacrifices to honor Saint Felix.[40] If my interpretation is correct, than the application of the groupings "pagan" and "Christian" is not only less than useful, it distorts the evidence and prevents a more accurate view of the situation. This mixed milieu continued for over 100 years, a certain indicator of the slow and complicated process of transformation and the strength of late-antique religious traditions. The Fountain of the Lamps provides us with a glimpse of the daily religious life of Christians and pagans in late-antique Corinth, and we see that they were not that different.

---

[40] Trout (1996).

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The implications of the continuation of non-Christian religious activity are more far reaching than a call for scholarly revision. If "paganism" died peacefully, or relatively peacefully, before the Christians took over the temples, the picture painted is one of natural succession, with "paganism" dying while Christianity grew. If the Christians moved against the sanctuaries while people were still actively using them, the scenario is very different, with Christians deliberately challenging and suppressing an active religious tradition. The situation has important implications for the development of Christianity as well, for with direct competition there is an increased probability that Christianity may have had to adapt its teachings and practices. It the later scenario that I propose here.

The monumentalization and institutionalization of Christianity visually and vocally thrust the Christian church to the forefront of religious life in late antiquity. Once an insignificant and un-noticeable sect, Christianity was raised to pre-eminent status. The overwhelming presence of Christianity in the late-antique world should not, however, force us to forget the continued presence of the other cults and traditions. Christianity was "new" and, in the hands of the emperors, militant; it had to announce its presence and impose itself on a population that had little conception of exclusivism in religion. The very terms "pagan" and "Christian" are themselves part of this dialogue, and are terms that indicate as much about social and political power as they do religion.

The strength and ultimate victory of Christianity must not cause us to forget that the old traditions continued as best they could for as long as they could. Only after several centuries of omnipresence and oppression by imperial Christianity was paganism forced out of existence. An empire-wide program of monumentalizing Christianity, establishing Christianizing ceremonies, and attempting to eradicate paganism insured that Christianity was constantly visible and identifiable as the only state religion. The success of Christianity entailed the deliberate, long-fought, and planned destruction of a rich, viable and powerful religious tradition.

The quietness of "paganism" in the sources distorts and obfuscates its position in late antiquity. Most of the non-Christian cults were non-doctrinal and non-proselytizing, and thus were much more quiet. The domination of late Roman religious literature by Christianity and Christian themes (or responses thereunto) does not represent differential success or interest between the two groups, but two very different natures. But the non-Christian cults can be observed in the material record, for those willing to look for the subtleties of the evidence.

The monumentalized paganism of the classical Greco-Roman world disappeared and was replaced by Christianity. But monumentalized, public religion was only a seasonal, and usually unemotional, part of a polytheistic religious existence. Significant religious experience came with ritual and action; ritual could and did take place at the public monuments, and obviously grand temples were desirable for many pagans. Nevertheless, ritual did not need elaborate temples. The hearth, a spring, or even an abandoned and collapsed temple could work just as well. As the religious landscape changed, "pagan" ritual found new homes, or satisfaction in less-grandiose locations. For the historian and archaeologist this means that non-Christian activity in the late-antique world is much harder to find than in the classical world; it does not mean, however, that such activity died or disappeared. The evidence, when sought out, makes this quite clear.

Given the marked continuity of the late-antique city, it is not surprising that religious traditions continued. The city in late antiquity was indeed in a state of change. The change in our period--the fourth through sixth centuries--did not, however, obviate or significantly alter the function of the city. The city continued to be the social, political, economic and religious center of life. In Corinth, the forum continued to function as always, and most of the public amenities were maintained. The villas, flourishing in our period, clustered around the city. The aristocratic landowners had not abandoned civic life, nor did they even choose to remove themselves very far from the city.

The transformation of the city in late antiquity revolved, in fact, around the relationship of the city to the emperor. Power was focused in the person of the emperor and administered through the provincial governor, *defensor civitatis* and, with increasing directness as we enter the sixth century, the clergy of the Christian church. Interaction with the clergy became, directly and indirectly, interaction with the emperor, and the desires and directions of the clergy could be construed as directions from the emperor. The physical and social structure of the city reflected this change in the distribution of power, most noticeably in the Christianization of the city. The temples were neglected, allowed to fall into disrepair, and ultimately removed. This de-paganisation was accompanied by the construction of the basilicas. These elaborate and imperially influenced, if not sponsored, structures dominated the new city, a city that was Christian and tied through the church and civic government to the emperor. It is no coincidence, of course, that the basilicas flourished in a period in which the emperors were specifically concerned with establishing Christianity and using it, in part, to concentrate all power in their own person.

The changes in the late-antique city, then, were largely those introduced from the outside. Many aspects of the city not controlled or of no concern to the emperor remained the same. In this way the late-antique city was an extremely conservative institution. It changed, but the changes, at least until the end of the sixth century, were introduced from above and were parts of, or reactions to, imperial programs and desires. If left to its own devices, it seems that the city in late-antiquity would have continued as always. The major change, the monumental Christianization of the city, was a manifestation not of internal pressure for change but a reflection of outside influence on the structure of the city. Given the conservative and continuous nature of the city, one would expect "paganism" to continue as well. That it disappeared is a result of direct intervention by the imperial government, not a natural progression of the late-antique city.

The failure to repair the damaged temples certainly reflects a changing attitude towards these representations of paganism. Temples, as all structures, needed maintenance, initially to preserve appearance, but ultimately to remain standing. Such maintenance, previously funded by the city and empire, ceased in the fourth century, except for those structures that had been adopted for other "non-pagan" uses. The temples were, for the most part, representations of public religion, and certainly were manifestations of civic involvement and funding of cult. Some temples slowly fell apart, others were actively destroyed. The collapse and destruction of the temples did not, of course, mean the destruction of paganism. In the Corinthia, where the prime culprit in the destruction of the temples seems to have been seismic activity, the temples probably were in a state of disrepair when the earthquakes struck c. 400. After the seismic activity, no civic funds could have been available for the repair of the non-Christian structures. The failure to care for and re-erect these structures cannot be taken to reflect popular or local religious opinion. Decisions about temple maintenance were not reflections of the belief of the people, but the faith of the emperors. The failure to maintain or repair the temples at Corinth says little about the religion of the people; it was a result of economic control by Christian emperors.

Nevertheless, the demise of the temples did not mean the end of "pagan" activity at these sites, and cult activity continued at the destroyed temples. "Pagans" and Christians alike viewed the areas of the temples as special, despite the rather unrecognizable state of the collapsed and demolished structures in the fifth and sixth century. People continued to worship at the Asklepieion in Corinth, where the main activity seems to have been the dedication of votive lamps and perhaps sacrifice. Even as pressure against the non-Christian cults increased, individuals managed to worship at the traditional cult sites. "Pagan" activity was not left unopposed, however. The Christians of Corinth were aware of this activity and placed burials around the temples not only to emphasize the victory of Christianity, but also to threaten the sites with desecration. The continued activity at the temples emphasized the vitality of traditional paganism. The destruction of the temples, as well as the counter-activity of the Christians, did not end cult activity, and the activity was not insignificant, but sizable enough to elicit a long-term plan of opposition by the Christians that lasted several centuries.

The hostility of some Christians to certain sculptures underscores another method of Christian attack upon other forms of worship, the continued importance of statuary in polytheistic worship, and a prevalent perception of power residing within statues. For some, sculpture was de-sacralized, simply art, but for others it remained an object of veneration, for still others an object of fear. The mutilation of statues served to rid the image of its internal demonic powers; ritual deposits of polytheist cult groups served to exorcise the demons that lived within sculpture. The evidence from Corinth and elsewhere in the Aegean reveals the continued use of statues and groups of statues in pagan worship. The Christian response to statuary reveals a desire not only to remove the demons, but also to attack polytheists at the very foundations of their worship.

The Christian attacks also reveal, however, that pagan and Christian views towards statuary and divine power were similar, and undoubtedly shared. The point of difference was one of interpretation and identification: some saw statuary as the "dwelling-place" of gods, others saw it as the "dwelling-place" of demons. All were agreed, however, that statues were possessors of power. The attacks upon statuary resulted not from a great difference in belief, for at their core polytheist and Christian thoughts about statuary were the same. The attacks resulted instead from the great similarity of belief and, in fact, closely resemble hostilities within various groups of the Christian body.

The Fountain of the Lamps was the most popular cult site in the fifth and sixth century Corinthia yet investigated, and "pagans" and Christians shared it alike. At this subterranean fountain, lamps and coins were left as votive offerings, and the occasional curse tablet was deposited. The Fountain of the Lamps, however, had a polysemous identity. For some it was the home of the Nymphs, for others, it was a place frequented by angels. There, at one site, pagans and Christians worshipped together and in the same manner. The only difference was the deities being worshipped. The form of activity, the deposition of votive lamps, seems to have been the same for both groups. It is easy to envision pagans and Christians worshipping at the same place, at the same time, using identical rituals. For the casual observer it would have been impossible to differentiate between pagans and Christian devotees.

The cult activity at the Fountain of the Lamps offers a glimpse into the religious life of a population in transition. While there is no way to determine how much of the population was Christian, how much pagan, we can be certain that both groups were represented in large numbers. More interesting, however, is the ambiguous nature of the activity at the Fountain of the Lamps. While one might see the Christian angels simply as a syncretistic adoption of the pagan nymphs, this begs the question. The nymphs and the angels must have been so similar that people had trouble distinguishing them. The issue was not simply the adoption of a local pagan cult into a new Christian religion, but rather the attempt of the people to incorporate Christianity into their world.[1]

The identical form of worship used by pagan and Christians surely compounded ideational confusion over the deities of the Fountain. The similar beings, and similar activities must have created a situation in which it was difficult to differentiate between pagan and Christian. It is not hard to see Christians confused as to their own identity and the meaning of co-participation in a cult with pagans. In an atmosphere of religious transition, it may even have been that the boundary lines were so blurred, that for some it was not possible to know if they themselves were "pagan" or Christian or even what that meant.

Polytheistic activity survived and flourished in the Corinthia at least through the sixth century. People continued to venerate the old cult sites and temples, but a new site, the Fountain of the Lamps, neither fully "pagan" nor Christian, also arose in this period. The interaction between religious groups can hardly be characterized in a simple manner, for it was multivarious and multifaceted. At times the relations were violent, as evidenced by the mutilation of sculpture, at times the interaction was threatening but not overtly hostile, as with the placement of graves near temple sites where pagans still worship, and at times "pagans" and Christians would worship side by side using identical rituals, as at the Fountain of the Lamps.

Even in the fifth and sixth centuries, when there could no longer be any doubt that the Empire was and would be Christian, polytheism survived. The long process of Christianizing the Empire was a campaign against a fully active religious tradition; Christianization was not succession, but rather the active suppression and absorption of a viable religious tradition. The question of the success of Christianity cannot be answered merely by discussion of religious appeal, personal satisfaction or superiority of beliefs. Certainly the Christians were adept at attracting and keeping converts, and styled a highly attractive and enjoyable liturgy and yearly calendar. But this is only part of the story. Polytheism survived for several centuries despite the removal of economic support, illegalization and strong pressure from the Christians. Surely the conservative nature of ancient society played a role in this long survival, but a more complicated process is indicated. As has been indicated time and again, the similarities between late Roman Christian and non-Christian behavior were substantial. That which joined them was perhaps greater than that which separated them, and this too must have moderated the long, slow process.

---

[1] Stewart (1991) 245 discusses "common ideational tendencies regarding supernatural beings" in modern Naxos, Greece. See also Lison-Tolosana's (1966) study of the growth of religion and the collective religiosity of Belmonte de los Caballeros in a strong and well documented historical context

By the end of the sixth century Corinth, as well as the rest of Greece, had abandoned most of the rituals and beliefs of classical "paganism" and adopted Christianity. This "indigenous" religious development, apart from similar changes throughout the Hellenized world, is unique in western and perhaps world history. Christianity was not introduced to Greece by foreigners, but by Greeks and other members of the Hellenized world.[2] But Christianity did not become one of many religious systems; it became the only religious system. Such transformations have occurred at other times in the history of the world, but almost without exception they have been accompanied by colonialism, and imperialism, be it military-political or cultural. In Greece, there was no such foreign influence, yet the transformation and development of a Christian Byzantine Empire was the most complete such transformation the world has seen.

Perhaps, however, the suppression of paganism and the success of Christianity can be attributed to a form of colonialism or imperialism. If one defines colonialism as "the interaction between disproportionate social groups which possess in different degrees the power dominate" such an interpretation becomes possible.[3] As Christianity gained hold of the aristocracy and as ecclesiastical leaders assumed greater roles in civic life, Christians became a social group with power to predominate.[4] "Paganism" fell out of favor, lost support, and was banned. A powerful religious tradition, it continued for a long time despite pressure against it. But after several centuries of opposition from an Empire that sought control of the religious aspects of individual existence, it succumbed. Polytheism did not die out of its own accord; it was systematically, and with difficulty buried under a weight of social and political norms.

---

[2] See Marriot (1955) 181 on "indigenous."

[3] For the definition see Beidelman (1982) 4; cf. Davis (1973).

[4] Cf. Moore (1987) for a similar approach in medieval history.

APPENDIX A

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Archaic Temple: The temenos paving seems to have been removed in the late fourth century, however, and late fourth century deposits in the area contain stone chips. Early fills contaminated by fourth century pottery indicate extensive digging in the area. Some poros blocks were removed from the structure, but the date for their removal is uncertain. Coins in the fourth century fills go as late as Theodosius I, and a late fourth century destruction or robbing may be indicated for the Archaic Temple.[1]

Asklepieion: See Chapter III.

Isthmia: The temple at Isthmia presumably was demolished prior to the construction of the early fifth century wall that crosses the Isthmus. This wall, the Hexamillion, incorporates many architectural members from the temple.[2] Thus the destruction of the temple is often placed near the end of the fourth century. This demolition date is based, however, on assumption. The lack of stratigraphy to be found in the bedrock cuttings for the foundations of the temple and the robbing from the structure in late antiquity make for an unclear stratigraphic record. Architectural members from the temple are found in the Hexamillion, but the wall was repaired and refortified frequently. The building phases of the wall are often indistinguishable, and it is not always possible to determine with certainty at which point the *membra dissecta* from the temple entered the wall.[3] It is most probable, however, that the temple pieces were incorporated into the wall at the end of the fourth century.

The destruction of the temple must, however, pre-date the SE house, a "haphazard construction" (4.6 x 3.24m) containing re-used blocks that rests on stereo at the south edge of the temple foundations. The SW house, a well-constructed structure (7 x 5.65m) with a small workroom at its east end also contains reused material from the temple. Broneer argued that these houses were temporary sheds and used by the workmen dismantling the temple. The houses, however, seem to be part of a sixth century agricultural complex.[4] Thus these houses reveal little about the destruction of the temple, except that it pre-dated the sixth century.

---

[1] Robinson (1976) 220-223, The pottery dates given in this report need to be used with great caution. I have not been able to examine the ceramic material. Robinson (1976) 222-3 reports a sixth-seventh century Christian church built on the temple hill. He assumes that the church was built outside the temple because the temple was in ruins in the sixth century, probably as a result of the 522 earthquake. There is no direct archaeological evidence for this scenario, and in fact, the church seems to be a Byzantine structure. For the church see Chapter III, for the earthquake see Chapter II.

[2] Gregory (1993); cf Broneer (1953) 184-5.

[3] E. Gebhard informs me (personal communication) that there are some destruction deposits that remain to be published.

Evidence for the later phases of the Roman altar is lacking. The first Roman altar was east of the temple but off axis to the south; the area west of this altar, where the sacrifices presumably took place, was found to be hard-packed earth.[5] When the east stoa was built, however, this altar must have been moved. The location of the second Roman altar is uncertain. Broneer proposes that it may have been built directly on the foundations of the Greek long altar and thus left no traces.[6] If this were the case, the altar could have been available at a very late date if anyone cared to use it.

The stoas on the west, south and east of the temple also are reported to have fallen into disrepair in the late Roman period. These stoas apparently were constructed in the first half of the second century, although this date is not certain.[7] After the construction of the stoas, entrance was gained to the sanctuary via the NE gate or the SE propylon, the latter evidently being the primary entrance. A precise date for the destruction of these stoas is difficult to determine. The SW house, which we have seen is probably dated to the sixth century, lies wholly within the area of the south stoa and at some undetermined point the rear wall of the south stoa was covered with retaining walls.[8] The destruction of the South Stoa must pre-date these events, but the destruction cannot be precisely dated.

Broneer argues that the destruction of the east stoa must pre-date the construction that he has dubbed the "late Roman cistern." According to Broneer, the foundations for the rear wall of the East Stoa were removed before this cistern (5.96 x 5.00m) was constructed. He also argues that the NW corner of the cistern cuts into the line of the stoa foundations. Broneer dates this cistern on the basis of diamond-shape tiles, noting that these can go as late as the fourth or fifth centuries and thus assigning the construction of the cistern to this late period. Diamond-shape tiles, however, start as early as the second century in the Korinthia; thus on this basis the cistern can date from the second to the fifth century.[9]

---

[4] For the houses see Broneer (1973) 97. Broneer also reports a West house (3.84 x 3.87m). This was a flimsy structure whose walls Broneer thought were "too thin for a proper roof." F. Hemans, personal communication, has provided the most recent information about the houses.

[5] Broneer (1973) 73-4. There is some question as to whether the structure identified as the Roman altar was in fact an altar. E. Gebhard, personal communication.

[6] Broneer (1973) 85.

[7] Broneer (1973) 83.

[8] Broneer (1973) 79 (retaining walls), 97 (house).

[9] For the east stoa see Broneer (1973) 75-7. C.K. Williams II, personal correspondence, on the date of diamond shaped tiles. An unpublished diamond tile was found under the mono-

In Broneer's view the East Stoa and its foundations were demolished in the late Roman period when this cistern was installed. The chronological sequence actually seems to have been the reverse. The so-called "late Roman cistern" has cemented rubble foundations that rest directly upon undisturbed fill that contains large worked blocks from the destruction of both the archaic and classical temples. The foundations for the stoa, visible to the west of the cistern are cemented rubble to a much deeper level. When the stoa foundations were laid, the temple debris was removed.[10] If the stoa predated the cistern, then the rubble underneath the cistern would have already been removed as elsewhere for the construction of the stoa. As this temple debris was not removed, the cistern must pre-date the stoa. The cistern, which is not on axis with the temple, perhaps was constructed when the Roman altar that predates and underlies the stoa was constructed. When the stoa was built at a later period, foundations deeper than those used for the cistern were used. Instead of removing the cistern, it was incorporated into the stoa. The rear wall of the stoa, which by necessity was on axis with the temple, was jogged to correspond with the corner of the cistern that was not on axis with the temple. The construction of this "late Roman" cistern cannot be used to date the destruction of the East Stoa, nor, by extension, any of the other stoas, and the destruction of the stoas cannot be dated with the available evidence.[11]

The floor material and material from the drains of the Theater seems to indicate a major interruption of maintenance and use in the middle third century. Sherds above the final floor surface of the court date through the end of the third century, and likewise material in the drains dates to the mid-third century.[12] The *stroses* covering the central passageway of the theater apparently provide an unbroken sequence. Most of these *stroses* were intact only on the eastern side of the passageway, as the floor was broken through each time the central drain was cleaned. It seems likely that the uppermost unbroken floor surface represents "the final period of normal use in the Theater, at the end of which the area appears to have been abandoned and the maintenance of the drainage system ceased."[13] This floor is an unusually thick layer that dates to the end of the third century.[14] The floor sequence indicates that drain maintenance was last performed before the end of the third century and the presence of third century material in the drain is to be expected. If the drain were left uncleaned, one might question whether the Theater could have functioned: a non-functioning drain would

---

chrome figural mosaic at the Roman Bath at Isthmia in a sealed deposit dating to the middle of the second century. See also Scranton (1951) 191 and Williams (1983) 12.

[10] Personal observation.

[11] It should be noted that E. Gebhard rejects my interpretation of the building sequences in this area and will present a different version in a forthcoming report.

[12] Gebhard (1973) 132 (court), 143-44 (drains). See also 129 for a third century amphora found on the floor of the storeroom.

[13] Gebhard (1973) 133.

[14] Gebhard (1973) 133-4.

have resulted in a flooded theater. There can be no doubt that there was a major break in activity at the Theater at the middle of the third century.

There is, however, material that hints at later activity in the Theater. Another floor surface overlay the third century floor in the central corridor. "At a level of about +0.31m there was a change in the earth and another packed surface; above that the sherds go down to the end of the fourth century when the vault seems to have fallen in."[15] The evidence of this last floor surface may indicate that the Theater was not completely abandoned in the third century. The floor was not broken through to clear the drain at the end of the third century, but a new floor succeeded the third century floor. Final abandonment may have come only after the placement of this last floor surface.

Random material, suggestive but not in diagnostic contexts, was also found in the Theater, such as a coin of Constantine II (355-361) imbedded in a groove in the top of the proskenion.[16] Additionally, sherds and lamps dating as late as the fourth century were found on top of a layer of virgin clay and fourth and fifth century lamps were found below the level of the earlier orchestra floor. Fourth and fifth century sherds were also found in the cuttings for block F, the gutter, and the east analemma. The presence of this late material at low levels has been attributed to intrusions made during the taking of spolia from the Theater in the fourth and fifth centuries. It has been argued that the Theater silted in by this period and thus those who were harvesting blocks were forced to dig them out, sometimes cutting down to deep levels. The large *bothros* in the east parados is also filled with material form the late third to mid-fourth centuries.[17] This *bothros* made the parados unusable as a parados, but it also indicates that the parados remained intact until about the middle of the fourth century. There was fairly extensive activity in the theater in the fourth century, but the activity seems not to have been related to the proper functioning of the Theater.

The Roman Bath at Isthmia was constructed in the second century A.D, and functioned through the end of the fourth century A.D. [18] At some point after the original construction of the Bath the chamber under Room III was converted into a furnace. The presence of a coin of Aurelian (270-275)[19] under an ash layer 0.5m thick dates the use of this chamber to after the last quarter of the third century, and the depth of the ash layer (which is sealed by destruction debris) indicates a period of substantial usage. Late fourth century ceramics in the ash indicate that this furnace was being used through the fourth century. Further evidence of renovation is found in Room VIII. The floor of Room VIII is missing, although tesserae in the doorways indicate the presence of a mosaic floor at some time. The absence of this floor suggests an uncompleted renovation. Three test trenches below floor level in this room have produced fourth to fifth century material.[20] This indicates that the floor was in the process of being replaced in the fourth or fifth century.

---

[15] Gebhard (1973) 144n.65.

[16] Gebhard (1973) 135; the coin is IC 732.

[17] Gebhard (1973) 132.

[18] See Wohl (1981) 112-40 for a preliminary investigation of the abandonment. Wohl posits the same scenario as Clement. My investigation of the abandonment of the Bath at Isthmia was assisted by the computerized database installed at the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia. The destruction of the Bath is a different matter than the abandonment and will not be discussed here. My thanks to T.E. Gregory for allowing unoublished material to appear in this preliminary discussion. Full publication of the Bath is in preparation.

[19] IC 78-4.

The material found at floor level and on the floors of the Bath is of special interest for it indicates the period at which the Bath ceased to be maintained. This material consistently dates to the late fourth or early fifth century and is found in all rooms except the hypocausted rooms (IX, X, XI) where the fill was thoroughly contaminated upon the collapse of the floor, and Room XIV, which is only partially excavated. From this material it is clear that the Bath was abandoned no earlier than the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.[21]

The date of the abandonment indicated by the ceramic material found on the floors is confirmed by the numismatic evidence. Four coins were found directly at floor level.[22] These coins, all of which belong to the fourth century, indicate that the abandonment of the Bath came at or after the end of the fourth century.

Evidence from the drains of the Bath confirms and clarifies this date of abandonment. The drain on the west side of Room VI of the Bath was almost completely blocked with a homogenous fill that dates to the fourth or very early fifth century. Two fourth century bronze coins were present in this drain. The drain also contained numerous lamps, four of which date to the late fourth or first decades of the fifth century.[23] The evidence from the

---

[20] Pottery lots 77-CSS-024, 78-JMP-030, 031, 032, 034, 035.

[21] Fourth to fifth century material on floors: Room I, 72-MMO-008; Room II, 72-RBA-023, 76-MCO-006, 76-MMT-001A, B, 77-SRS-051; Room III, 78-JMP-005, 007, 015; Room IV, 72-BBO-008, 014; Room V, 72-RBA-028; Room VI, 76-DMO-018, 026, 76-MCO-028, 029; Room VII, 76-MCO-036, 78-SET-047; Room VIII, 77-CSS-017, 041, 047, 049, 075, 088, 101, 102, 78-JMP-031; Room XIII, 78-SPO-015, 019, 019B; South of Room IX, 78-CVO-021; South of Room XI, 78-CVO-050. Full publication of the bath is in preparation.

[22] IC 72-28, Constans II (351-61) (Room I, hard dirt surface at level of mosaic floor); IC 72-33, Constans II (351-61) (Room I, on floor); IC 72-29, Constans II (351-61) (Room II, on mosaic bedding); IC 76-6, Theodosius (384-92) (Room VI, on floor). Wohl (1981) 122-4 has identified fifteen coins in the Bath as being related to the abandonment. Seven of these (IC 70-39, 76-8, 76-9, 76-10, 77-5, 78-2, 78-6) I have rejected due to uncertain or non-diagnostic contexts. IC 78-2 (Arcadius, 395-408) was found by excavators in 1978 on the floor of Room VIII, but in an area excavated in 1977. The process by which it arrived on the floor is uncertain and as it is in an unexcavated context I have included it in this category. Five other coins (IC 76-1, 76-3, 76-5, 77-2, 78-5) have contexts so unclear they cannot be used as evidence. Three coins come not from floor level, but near floor level (IC 72-31, 72-32, 76-5).

[23] Coins: IC 90-2, Constantine I (330-337) and IC 90-3 (341-46). Lamps: IPL 90-1, 90-4, 90-5 and 90-7. IPL 90-4 is an Attic glazed lamp, cf. *Agora* VII 1848, 1842 for unglazed examples; it is the latest of the group and dates to the last quarter of the fourth century, or more probably few decades of the fifth. Birgitta Wohl, Arja Karivieri and Judith Binder have all discussed these lamps with me.

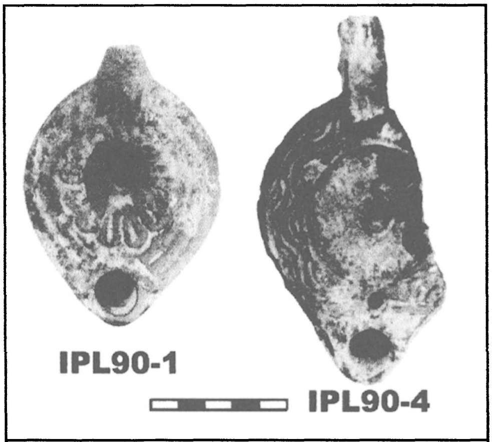


Figure 31: Lamps from Roman Bath.

drains is unimpeachable. The drains were being maintained and routinely cleaned, a sure sign, especially in combination with the fourth century use of the furnace under Room III, that the Bath was indeed functioning as a bath and not merely being used for some other purpose. The lamps provide a very specific date for the abandonment of the Bath. The drains stopped being cleaned and were filled with debris at the very end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century and it is at this time the Bath at Isthmia went out of use.

Temple D: A layer of red and black earth containing a coin of Leo I (457-474) was found north of Temple D. Beneath this layer were found many marble fragments, perhaps from the demolition of the temple.[24] The destruction of Temple D, therefore, may have occurred sometime before the third quarter of the fifth century.

Temple E: There is a remote possibility that Temple E underwent some repair work in the late Roman period; early excavators reported the discovery of a heavily drilled lion head spout, as well as a "very late" egg and dart molding heavily undercut and showing much use of the drill. From the description of the objects one would expect them, on stylistic grounds, to date to the third or fourth century, but a stylistic argument based on pieces only sketchily described and no longer to be found holds little weight.[25] Another tantalizing item is a coin of Gordian III (238-44) wedged into a dowel hole in a column base apparently from the temple and held in place by a small fragment of tile.[26] A coin could have quite easily fallen into a dowel cutting at any time after the demolition of the temple. The small piece of tile wedged into the cutting and sealing in the coin offers another possibility: the coin may have been deliberately placed, as a votive or an idle action, during a third century reconstruction that involved the replacement of the column. Both the south and the north stoas surrounding Temple E were reworked in the late second or early third century and we might want to associate work on Temple E with these reconstructions.[27] But the evidence for reconstruction or repair in the third century is extremely slender.

---

[24] Corinth Notebook 125, 172, coin no. 6.

[25] Corinth Notebook 127, 28-9. One might want to compare the Diocletianic lion spouts from the third century restoration of the temple of Zeus at Olympia: Herrmann (1972) 113,

[26] Corinth Notebook 127, 54.

Multiple smashed architectural pieces indicate that the temple collapsed violently, with pieces falling from a height. Most telling was a lion's head spout, found where it fell. The spout still held its shape but was thoroughly shattered and the inference is that it fell from its position on high. The agent of this destruction, be it human, earthquake, the ravages of time or, more probably, a combination of these, cannot be determined from the available evidence.[28]

After the collapse of the superstructure, Temple E almost immediately became a quarry and a source of lime, a situation that would last at least through the fourteenth century. Because of the multiple periods of robbing no clear stratigraphy was obtainable with the excavation methods used, and a precise date for the collapse of the structure cannot be determined. Coins and lamps resting directly on the foundations of the temple, underneath the debris from quarrying, should represent the last days of the temple. Unfortunately the fill was contaminated and coins as late as Manuel I (1143-1180) found their way onto the foundation. The majority of the coins on the foundation, however, range from Antoninus Pius (138-161) to Gratian (367-383).[29] These coins are probably indicative of a temple functioning in the second, third and fourth centuries.

More important are the coins found on what was apparently the paving level in and around the temple. This area ultimately was covered with debris, but coins found on the clean and open temenos area provide a *terminus post quem* for maintenance of the temple and temple area. The coins on this paving level range from the second century through Marcian (450-457) indicating that the area was open and the temenos was clean through the mid-fifth century. The combined evidence from the temple foundations and the temenos seems to indicate that the temple functioned in a standard manner to the end of the fourth century and the area ceased to be maintained sometime around the middle-fifth century, the period of most intense quarrying.[30]

---

[27] Williams (1990) 335.

[28] Broken pieces: Corinth Notebook 128, 8; Fallen spout: Corinth Notebook 66, 35.

[29] 2 Antoninus Pius (Corinth Notebook 127, nos. 41, 42); Gordianus Pius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 76); Gallienus (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 39); 2 Diocletian (Corinth Notebook 127, nos. 34, 36); Constans (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 40); Constantius II (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 38); Julian (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 37); Valens (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 44); Gratian (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 35); Manuel I (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 43). L1576 (middle fifth to middle sixth century) was found on the foundations but "in the chip layer." On the pavement of the East façade of the Temple were found coins of Constantius (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 164); Julian (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 165); Valens (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 166); Valentinian II (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 168); Arcadius (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 169); Honorius (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 167). West of the temple below the chip layer and on a strosis called "stereo" were found coins of Gallienus (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1080); Procopius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1168); 2 Constantius II (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1167, Corinth Notebook 129, 1320) Valentinian II (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1043); 2 Theodosius I (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1079, 1083); 2 Valens (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1045, 1162); 3 Arcadius (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1054, 1082, 1163); Honorius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1043). Coins are also recorded, inexplicably, as coming from below stereo (some from as much as 1m below stereo): Lucius Verus (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1064); Septimius Severus (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1053); Constantius II (Corinth Notebook 129, no. 1318); Theodosius I (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1061), 2 Arcadius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1052, 1063); Honorius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1063); Marcian (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1060).

Directly upon the foundations and in the area around the temple lay a strosis of marble and poros chips, in places as thick as 0.80 meters.[31] Mixed with these chips were occasional pockets of lime, and some of the chips were described as being in extremely poor condition and almost "powder." These deteriorated chips may have in fact been pieces of marble partially burned and calcinated. There may have been a lime kiln on top of the temple foundations in the late Roman period, as evidenced by a curious semicircular cutting, but this is far from certain. A lime kiln cut part way into the rubble foundations on the north face of the temple seems to have functioned in the late Roman period. On the threshold of this kiln were found numerous large pieces of marble and a chunk of wood not thoroughly burned. Coins associated with these pieces date as late as Constans I (337-50). The presence of a fourteenth-century coin in this kiln may, however, indicate that it is actually a much later creation.[32]

Regardless of the actual position of the lime kilns in the late Roman period, there can be no doubt that some the marble from the temple was being reduced to lime at that time.[33] The abundance of remaining marble chips indicates, however, that obtaining lime was the not the major intent of the demolition, for these chips are the result of reworking blocks. Resting on and occasionally in the chip layer were numerous architectural fragments and building blocks partially broken or apparently in line to be recut for ease of transportation and reuse in other buildings.[34] The process took place over an extended period: large blocks were resting on top of the chips and must have been moved there after the demolition was already underway.

---

[30] West of the temple foundations a very hard strosis of packed "clay" was found beneath the chip layer. This may represent the Roman pavement but the excavator entertained the idea that it was a "water level," perhaps meaning a layer of sediment laid down by water. The notebooks are too sketchy for a certain evaluation: Corinth Notebook 128, 29-30. The notebooks also describe a "ground level" strosis at the west and northwest of the foundations that slopes down from the temple foundations at a consistent grade. This may be the same strosis as the hard packed clay. The excavator felt this might be a natural rather than man-made feature, but we should not rule out the possibility of a ramp to facilitate the removal of the temple material: Corinth Notebook 128, 39, 66.

[31] Corinth Notebook 127, 19, 27, 30; Corinth Notebook 65, 54; Corinth Notebook 66, 10; Corinth Notebook 127, 84, 150, 184; Corinth Notebook 128, 3, 7, 8, 32, 94, 116; Corinth Notebook 129, 10.

[32] Lime kiln on temple: Corinth Notebook 65, 54. Deteriorated marble chips: Corinth Notebook 128, 7. Marble pieces and wood: Corinth Notebook 128, 54. Coin: Corinth Notebook 128, #279 Philip of Tarentum (1294-1331).

[33] Williams (1990) 336 for quarrying; he also notes marble showing signs of calcination found in the temenos area, perhaps as a result of being in or near a lime kiln.

[34] Corinth Notebook 127, 27, 182; Corinth Notebook 128, 46-7 for large blocks. References to architectural pieces are scattered throughout the notebooks. See esp. Corinth Notebook 127, 24, 60-61, 64; Corinth Notebook 128, 28; Corinth Notebook 129, 119. Some sculptural fragments were found in the marble chips, including S1540, a head of Tyche.

Coins were abundant in the marble chips; so abundant that we might wonder if money was not changing hands in the very area being quarried. If this is the case, than the coinage, rather than merely indicating a *terminus post quem,* indicates the actual period of quarrying activity. The excavation records do not always record with certainty the provenance of each coin, but the array of coins that certainly came from the chip layer range from coins of Constantius Gallus to Honorius (393-423). The large number of coins (28) of Theodosius I (379-395), which number even more than the popular coinage (25) of Constantius II (337-361), almost certainly indicates a peak of activity at the very end of the fourth century and the first quarter of the fifth. A coin of Marcian (450-457) and a Korinthian imitation of a North African lamp, dated no earlier than the second quarter of the fifth century, indicate continued late Roman quarrying into and past the middle of the fifth century.[35] Even if the hypothesis that the coinage is directly indicative of the buying and selling of the blocks is rejected, than a *terminus post quem* of the middle fifth century has been established.

A layer of ash approximately 0.10 meters thick overlay the marble chips and whatever blocks and architectural fragments rested on these chips. The excavators report that the covering ash layer followed the contours of both the ground and several architectural pieces.[36] Coins are far fewer in the ash layer than in the chip layer, but they indicate that the ash layer also was deposited in the first half of the fifth century.[37] Several column capitals

[35] (2) Constantius Gallus: 128-485, 128-967; (4) Constantine: 128-492, 128-982, 128-1058, 129-1300; (3) Constantine II: 128-467, 128-468, 128-504; (2) Constans: 127-439, 128-508; (25) Constantius II: 127-114, 127-116, 127-431, 127-432, 127-435, 127-436, 127-437, 127-438, 128-470, 128-475, 128-476, 128-477, 128-482, 128-486, 128-488, 128-489, 128-495, 128-501, 128-502, 128-507, 128-552, 128-554, 128-560, 128-1059, 128-1070; (7) Julian: 127-434, 127-440, 128-499, 128-509, 128-510, 128-511, 128-974; (4) Valentinian: 127-425, 128-47, 128-505, 128-556; (5) Valentinian II: 127-418, 127-427, 128-466, 128-483, 128-503; (12) Valens: 127-444, 127-445, 128-469, 127-471, 127-472, 128-478, 128-479, 128-484, 128-496, 128-512, 128-553, 128-559; (3) Gratian: 128-465, 128-491, 128-494; (28) Theodosius I: 127-416, 127-417, 127-419, 127-422, 127-428, 128-464, 128-473, 128-480, 128-487, 128-493, 128-497, 128-500, 128-513, 128-514, 128-515, 128-516, 128-517, 128-518, 128-519, 128-520, 128-549, 128-550, 128-551, 128-555, 128-561, 128-966, 129-1301, 129-1302; (11) Arcadius: 127-117, 127-414, 126-415, 127-423, 127-424, 128-490, 128-498, 128-524, 128-525, 128-526, 128-1069; (6)Honorius: 127-119, 127-413, 127-420, 127-421, 128-527, 128-548; (1) Marcian: 128-547. I have omitted the handful of coins earlier than the fourth century. The North African lamp is L 1576 (mid fifth-mid sixth century), cf. 1600 (Attic, *Chiones*, fifth century), 1601 (late fourth-fifth century), 1607 (Late fourth-fifth century) in chip layer. L 1612 (Attic glazed, late fourth-early fifth century), 1613 (Late fourth-fifth century) and 1614 (late fourth-fifth century) were found in fill from where blocks had been removed from the podium. L 1577 (mid fifth-mid sixth century) was found apparently in the temple foundations.

[36] Corinth Notebook 127, 60-61; Corinth Notebook 128, 28; Corinth Notebook 128, 79, 119; Corinth Notebook 129, 10.

[37] Diocletian: 127-28; Constantius II: 127-31; Julian: 127-30; Valens: 127-29; Theodosius I: 127-33; Honorius: 127-32, 127-92, 127-97. See also L 1564 (late fourth-fifth century), 1565 (late fourth-fifth century), 1566 (Hellenistic), 1567 (Ephesian, fifth-sixth century), 1573 (late fourth-fifth century) but the provenience of these is unclear.

north of the temple foundation rest upon this burn layer rather than under it, thus indicating continued quarrying activity at indeterminable later periods. What this ash layer represents is problematic. It was deposited after the collapse of the superstructure and thus cannot be used to hypothesize a fiery destruction of the temple. Most probably the ash simply represents the periodic cleaning out of the lime kilns. The uniformity of the ash layer may be a result of the action of wind and time.

Temple F: Scranton reports that a brick structure filled the stair entrance south of Temple F, but this construction cannot be dated.[38] A grave in the southwest corner of Temple F dates the destruction of this structure to sometime prior to the middle of the sixth century.[39]

Temple J: A coin of Constantius II was retrieved from the gap between the poros walls and the rubble core of the foundation. The coin could only have been placed thus after the demolition of the sturcture, but could have been in circulation through the fifth and even sixth century.[40] The south wall of the monastery of St. John, built in the thirteenth century, reused a line of large well-cut blocks that seem to have been the north wall of Temple J.[41] A layer of broken marble revetment and poros chips may have been from the destruction of this temple, and perhaps can be dated to the late fifth to middle sixth century.[42] A headless statue of Athena, reused in the south wall of St. John's, may also represent this destruction.[43]

---

[38] Scranton (1951) 72-3 relies on an "intangible suggestion of a later date [than Commodus]."

[39] MF 6069 (Nail) and MF 4931 (Bronze Ring) are from this grave. L 2316 (late fifth to middle sixth) and MF 5369 are from the vicinity of the grave and presumably are associated. The grave contained the skeleton of a young adult and a very small child resting on the left arm of the adult, perhaps a mother and child.

[40] Corinth Notebook 181, 501; coin no. 88.

[41] Corinth Notebook 38, p.44, 55; Corinth Notebook 169, 39.

[42] Corinth Notebook 169, 368 reports such a layer of "Roman date." Corinth Notebook 150, 120 describes a layer of fragmentary marble revetment. L 2452 was found with this layer. These layers probably represent the same stratum, but we cannot be sure.

[43] Corinth Notebook 169, 382.

APPENDIX B

A GAZETTEER OF THE LATE ROMAN KORINTHIA

This gazetteer is presented as a simple guide to late-antique sites in the Korinthia. It includes only sites that have been mentioned in publication. The reader will note that it is highly dependent on the work of Wiseman (1978); surface ceramic dates, unless otherwise noted, are those provided by Wiseman. They should not be considered definitive, and may be too early. There has been no systematic survey of the Korinthia, and thus this list should be regarded as highly incomplete. While other sites have been located in field walking, it seems best not to include these until a true survey can be completed. I have omitted ecclesiastical structures of Corinth.

Aetopetra: A flat-top hill, probably south of the road to Sikyon. Numerous caves can be seen on the west of valley. North and east of the hill there are late Roman sherds. A large Roman millstone and an early Christian tombstone have been found here. Wiseman (1978) 99, Corinth Notebook 272, 88.

Aghia Paraskevi: This site has classical fortifications, many early Roman sherds, and some late Roman sherds. Wiseman (1978) 127-8.

Aghionorion: A cave at north entrance of pass on west has yielded Roman sherds. 1.5k west, 100m. south of road to Stephanion is the church of Aghios Nikolaos. Here ceramics as late as the third century have been found. Wiseman (1978) 122-4.

Aghios Charalambos: This site is located in the periphery of modern Zeugolatio. It is north of the road to Sikyon. A Roman bath, built in the early fourth century and restored in the early fifth has been excavated south of the church. Sherds in the area indicate widespread habitation. Charitonides (1955), Wiseman (1978) 100-101.

Aghios Gerasimos: A hill 2.5k west of Lechaion. A second or third century inscription has been found here. South and southeast of the hill there are late Roman sherds dating as late as the sixth century. Wiseman (1978) 99.

Akra Sophia: A fifth to seventh century complex, perhaps a villa, with a small, serviceable harbor. Gregory (1985).

Alamánnos: A large site with ceramics that date as late as the third century. It is located on the lower hill across the modern road from the church Aghios Panteleimon. Wiseman (1978) 56, 90.

Anaploga: Located 1.5 km. within the city wall of Corinth. Digging was spurred at this site by the accidental discovery of an acrolithic head of Athena. The villa was built c. 1-50 A.D., and contains an atrium, ten rooms, and a large dining hall. The villa was remodeled in the third century when a figural mosaic installed, and again in late Roman period when a wall was added through the mosaic south of the south figured panel. The villa was abandoned in the early fifth century as evidenced by coins of Valentinian, Arcadius and Theodosius I. Miller (1972) [mistakenly states abandonment came in mid-fourth century], Shear (1930). See Hellenkemper-Salicis (1986) 278 for the mosaics.

Angelokastro: There is a Medieval fortification at this site which guards the Sophiko pass and the upland pass to plain of Aghionorion. Southwest of the village, 150m. south of the road at the two kilometer mark south of castle, is a rectangular structure of polygonal masonry. There is a heavy concentration of fourth and fifth century sherds. Angelokastro is the convergence point of several roads. Wiseman (1978) 129-30.

Asprókambos: In the plain east of village south and west of Zoodochos Pighi there are Roman sherds as late as the seventh century. Wiseman (1978) 34-6, Fowler (1932) 42, Payne (1940) I. 7-8. A cave west of site reportedly has a cross and niche carved in wall. Wiseman (1978) 30.

Bayevi: This is the region west of Mt. Penteskouphi. A large underground water tunnel has been found here. On the southwest slope of the hill Roman sherds have been found. Wiseman reports having seen large Roman structure, probably a villa. Wiseman (1978) 82, Morgan (1937) 552, Corinth Notebook 156, 54-8. Examination of this site in 1992 failed to find any of the remains noted by Wiseman. A small church, probably modern, is on the hill and a few pieces of Roman ceramics were found.

Krommyon (Aghioi Theodoroi): An apparently important site on the Scironian road. Funerary inscriptions through the late Roman period have been recovered here. Wiseman (1978) 17-19, Verdelis (1961/2), Daux (1962), Papachristodoulou (1969). Excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service were conducted in this area in 1992.

Kromna: On the Aghios Dhimitrios ridge. There is a rock cut staircase into a cave. The surface ceramics date into the fourth century. Wiseman (1963).

Evraionisos: The island has late Roman ceramic scatter, including fine ware, to the fifth century and evidence of terracing. Wiseman (1978) 134, Kardulias (1995).

Examilia: Two tombs have been found here, including a first or second century tomb that may have been robbed or reused in the fourth century (as evidenced by one late lamp). Wiseman (1978) 69, Morgan (1938), Corinth Notebook 156, 62-9. An early Roman tomb is also visible from the road; there is late Roman material in the field nearby. Wiseman (1978) 69.

Gerania: The second valley west of Gerania has a large concentration of late Roman sherds. A built stone cist grave may be late Roman. Wiseman (1978) 20.

Isthmia: The sanctuary of Poseidon. The sanctuary functioned until the late fourth or early fifth century. An apparently residential complex flourished from the early Roman period until the end of the fourth century. Also the site of a major late Roman/Early Byzantine fortress. Rothaus (1993), Gregory (1993)

Kato Almyri: Roman and Byzantine Sherds were noted by Robinson adjacent to a coastal spring below Vigla. Wiseman (1978) 58, Fowler (1932) 89.

Kenchreai: The famous harbor and sanctuaries. Destroyed and then reinhabited in the late fourth or early fifth centuries. Scranton (1978). An early Christian basilica was constructed in the sixth century and functioned well into the seventh. Rothaus (1993).

Kokkinovrysi: A partially excavated villa, often known as the Shear villa, located just inside the city wall near the Sikyonian gate. The villa was constructed in the second century and functioned until the early fifth. Shear (1925) 391, Shear (1930). There is a chamber tomb that was reused in the later Roman period a five-minute walk to the west. Stillwell (1936) 484.

Kondita Station: Just west of modern road from Zeugolatio to Nerandza. Has a very few late Roman sherds. Wiseman (1978) 104.

Lechaion: Western port of Corinth, and site of the largest basilica ever in Greece and in the world at its time. There is also a Nympheum here that may have been built in the third century and functioned through the sixth. Wiseman (1978) 87, Philadelpheos (1908), *Ergon* (1957), Pallas (1954), (1956), (1957), (1959), (1960), (1961), (1961/2), Rothaus (1995), Stiros (1995).

Loutra Elenis: The hill contains late Roman sherds. Wiseman (1978) 52-3.

Maghoula: On the ridges 1.5km south of the village of Perachora on modern road. Late Roman and Byzantine sherds have been found in the saddle to north of west ridge. Wiseman (1978) 36.

Moulki I and II: Wiseman reports cemented structures and a structure with diamond shape tiles. The ceramics may go as late as the third century at Moulki I. Moulki II has a quarry, and ceramic scatter as late as the fourth century. Wiseman (1978) 103-4

Pano Maghoula: A third century villa west of Corinth-Argos road at the third kilometer marker. The villa has a courtyard, open-air cistern, olive press, and bath. Wiseman notes further material north all the way to highway including walls, paving and rooms. The ceramics in the area range from the early Roman period to the seventh century. The villa seems to have been built in the third century and functioned perhaps as late as the seventh century. Wiseman (1978) 73-4, *Ergon* (1955), Pallas (1955).

Perdhikaria: Along the ridge 2km. east of Examilia. Northeast of this ridge there is a concentration of late Roman material. This may be farmhouse or villa on the road to Kenchreai. Wiseman (1978) 64-5.

Schinos: Port of Oenoe. This site has late Roman material dating from the fourth to sixth centuries. Apparently the late Roman settlement was at the harbor. A late column can be seen at Aghia Sotiria. Wiseman (1978) 30.

Solomos: A fourth century chamber tomb has been found on road from Teneatic gate. This may be part of a larger cemetery. Wiseman (1978) 90, *BCH* (1959).

Southeast Suburb: A site located 0.5km south of Corinth-Argos highway, 1.5km. outside the city wall. Scatter in this area goes only to third century. A villa or structure with peristyle court has been found here. Wiseman (1978) 88. Examination of this region in 1992 failed to locate the structure; bulldozing in the area may have destroyed it.

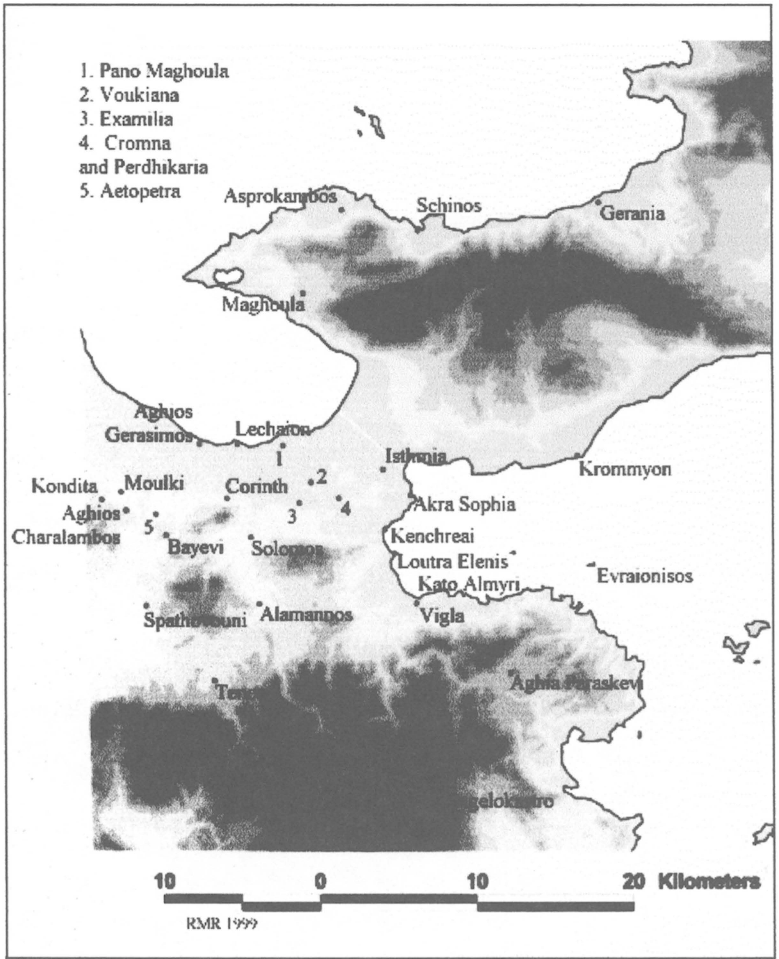
Spathovouni: In the Longopotamos valley, along the best route to Argos. On a dirt road east to Chiliomodi, about 1km., there are signs of ancient occupation including poros blocks, and a heavy concentration of large second to third century sherds. While this may represent only one villa, it suggests a road from Tenea to Longopotamos valley. Wiseman (1978) 108, 110.

Tenea: The center of this site is halfway between the railroad tracks and Klenia, especially on the east side of the of road. A large Roman building is visible and late Roman graves have been excavated. The ridge north of Tenea between Aghia Kyriaki and the road may be a cemetery; there are many plundered Roman chamber tombs here. The ceramics go into the late Roman but period but most are early Roman. Wiseman (1978) 92-3.

Varelá: A villa, built in the early fourth century, repaired in mid-sixth century and functioned into the Byzantine period. *AD* 39 (1984) B1 109-10.

Vigla: At this site there is limited Roman and Byzantine material especially near the "new" road. Wiseman (1978) 58.

Voukiana: A settlement on a knoll. Late Roman sherds have been found to the north. Wiseman (1978) 70.


1. Pano Maghoula
2. Voukiana
3. Examilia
4. Cromna
and Perdhikaria
5. Aetopetra
Asprokambos
Schinos
Gerania
Maghoula
Aghios
Gerasimos
Lechaion
1
Isthmia
Krommyon
Kondita
Moulki
Corinth
2
3
4
Aghios
Charalambos
5
Bayevi
Solomos
Akra Sophia
Kenchreai
Loutra Elenis
Kato Almyri
Evraionisos
Spathovouni
Alamannos
Vigla
Tenea
Aghia Paraskevi
elokastro
10
0
10
20 Kilometers
RMR 1999

Plan 10: Late Roman Korinthia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahames, D. (1967). "Hagiographic Sources for Byzantine Cities." Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan.

Adamsheck, B. (1979). *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth* IV: *The Pottery*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Alcock, S.E. (1989a). "Archaeology and Imperialism: Roman Expansion and the Greek City." *JMA* 2, 87-135.

——. (1989b). "Roman Imperialism in a Greek Landscape." *JRA* 2, 5-34.

Amandry, P. (1984). "Le culte des Nymphes et de Pan." *BCH* Suppl. 9, 395-425.

Ambraseys, N. (1995). "Material for the Investigation of the Seismicity of Central Greece." *Archaeoseismology,* ed. S. Stiros and R.E. Jones. Athens: British School at Athens.

Angold, M. (1985). "The Shaping of the Mediaeval Byzantine City." *ByzForsch* 10, 1-37.

Asad, T. (1993). *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Athanassiadi, P. (1989/90). "The Fate of Oracles in Late Antiquity: Didyma and Delphi." Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας ΙΕ, 271-278.

——. (1981). *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bailey, D.M. (1988). *A Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* III. London: British Museum Publications.

Baldwin, B. (1985). "Palladas of Alexandria: a Poet between two Worlds." *AC* 65, 267-73.

Barasch, M. (1992). *Icon: Studies in the History of an Idea.* New York: New York University Press.

Barnard, L.W. (1974). *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Barnash, S.J.B. (1989). "The Transformation of Classical Cities and the Pirenne Debate." *JTA* 2, 385-400.

BCH (1959). "Chronique des Fouilles, Corinthe." 497-99.

Beaton, A.E. and P. Clement (1976). "The Date of the Destruction of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth." *Hesperia* 45, 267-279.

Bees, N.A. (1941). *Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inscriften von Hellas, I: Die griechisch christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes.* Athens.

Beidelman, T.O. (1982). *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Berling, J.A. (1980). *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Betz, H.D., ed. (1986). *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bidez, J. (1928). L'Empereur Julien, Oeuvres Completes Tome I, 2e partie, Lettres er Fragmentes. Paris.

Biers, J.C. (1985). *Corinth* XVII: *The Great Bath on the Lechaion Road.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Bintliff, J. (1991). "The Roman Countryside in Central Greece: Observations and Theories from the Boeotia Survey (1978-1987). "In *Roman Landscaoes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region.* Ed. G. Barker and J. Lloyd. London: British School at Rome.

——. (1985). "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years." *JFA* 12, 3-61.

Bintliff, J. and A. Snodgrass. (1988). "The End of the Countryside: A View from the East," in R.F. Jones et al., *First Millenium Papers: Western Europe in the First Millenium A.D.*, 175-217. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blegen, C.W. et al. (1930). *Corinth* III, i: *Acrocorinth: Excavations in 1926*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Blegen, C.W., H. Palmer, R.S. Young. (1964). *Corinth* XIII: *The North Cemetery*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Bloch, H. (1945). "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393-394 A.D." *HThR* 38, 199-245.

Bon, A. (1952). *Le péloponnèse byzantin*. Paris: Sirey.

Bookidis, N. and J. Fisher. (1972). "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Preliminary Report IV: 1969-70." *Hesperia* 41, 284-31.

Bouras, C. (1981). "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture." *JÖB* 31, 611-53.

Bowerman, H.C. (1913). *Roman Sacred Altars*. Diss., Bryn Mawr.

Bowersock, G.W. (1990). *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

——. (1991). Review of Cameron, et al., *Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*. *AJA* 95, 357-8.

Bowra, C.W. (1960). "Palladas and Christianity." *PBA* 45, 255-67.

Braudel, F. (1972). *The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Vol. 1. Trans. Siân Reynolds. New York: Harper and Row.

Brinkerhoff, D.M. (1970). *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*. New York: New York University Press.

Broneer, O. (1935). "Excavations in Corinth, 1934." *AJA* 39, 53-75.

——. (1936). *Corinth* X: *The Odeum*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

——. (1953). *Hesperia* 22, 184-5

——. (1956). *Corinth* I, iv: *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

——. (1971). *Isthmia* I: *The Temple of Poseidon*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

——. (1973). *Isthmia* II: *Topography and Architecture*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Brown, P. (1961). "Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy." *JRS* 51, 1-11.

——. (1971a). "St. Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion." *JRS* 61, 80-101.

——. (1971b). "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity." *JRS* 61, 80-101.

——. (1992). *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bruneau, P. and J. Ducat. (1983). *Guide de Délos*. Ecole Française d'Athènes, Sites et Monuments V. Paris, E. De Boccard.

Burkert, W. (1985). *Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

——. (1988). "The Meaning and Function of the Temple in Classical Greece." In M.V. Fox, ed., *Temple in Society*. Esienbrauns: Winona Lake.

Butler, J. (1990). *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cameron, A. (1965a). "Palladas and Christian Polemic." *JRS* 55, 17-30.

——. (1965b). "Notes on Palladas." *CQ* 15, 215-229.

Cameron. Av. (1979). "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late-Sixth Century Byzantium." *Past and Present* 84, 3-35.

Cameron, Av. and J. Herrin, eds. (1984). Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Camp, J. McK. (1986). *The Athenian Agora*. London: Thames and Hudson.

——. (1989). "The Philosophical Schools of Roman Athens." *Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (Papers from the 10th British Museum Classical Colloquium, Bull. Sup.. 55), 50-56.

Carpenter, R. (1929). "Researches in the Topography of Ancient Corinth-I." *AJA* 33, 345-360.

——. (1966). *Discontinuity in Greek Civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carpenter, R. and A. Bon. (1936). *Corinth* III, ii: *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Carroll. M.P. (1992). *Madonnas the Maim: Popular Catholocism in Italy since the Fifteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cartledge, P. (1979). *Sparta and Lakonia*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cartledge, P. and A. Spawforth. (1989). *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*. London.

Catling, H.W. (1972). "Archaeology in Greece, 1971-72." *AR* 18, 9.

Charitonides, S. and R. Ginouvès. (1955). "Bain Romaine près de Corinthe." *BCH* 79, 102-20.

Chaudhuri, K.N. (1990). *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clement, P. (1977). "Alaric and the Fortifications of Greece." *Ancient Macedonia* II (Second International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, August 1973), 135-7.

——. (1975). "The Date of the Hexamillion" in *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas, 159-64*. Thessaloniki.

Collins-Clinton, J. (1977). *A Late Antique Shrine of Liber Pater at Cosa*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Cummer, W.W. (1971). "A Roman Tomb at Korinthian Kenchreai." *Hesperia* 40, 205-31.

Curcic, S. (1992). "Justinianic Impost Capitals: Some Question Regarding Their Origins and Meaning," Paper delivered at the *Eighteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference*. Urbana, Champaign.

Cutler, A. and A. Kazhdan. (1982). "Continuity and Disconitnuity in Byzantine History." *Byzantion*, 429-78.

Dagron, G. (1977). "La christianisme dans la ville byzantine." *DÖP* 31, 1-25.

——. (1984a). "Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue. Études de thèmes hagiographiques à travers quelques recueils de "Question et réponses" des Ve-VIIe siécles" in *La romanité chrétienne en Orient*. London: Variorum Reprints.

——. (1984b). "Le culte des images dans le monde byzantin" in *La romanité chrétienne en Orient*. London: Variorum Reprints.

Daux, G. (1962). "Chronique de Fouilles 1961." *BCH* 86, 686-9.

——. (1969). "Chronique de Fouilles 1968." *BCH* 93, 966-1025.

Davis, J. (1977). *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

de Coulanges, F. (1864). *The Ancient City: A Study of the Religion, Laws and Institutions of Greece and Rome*. London: Lee and Shepard.

de Grazia, C.E. (1973). Excavations of the ASCS at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture. Diss., Columbia.

Deichmann, F. (1939). "Fruchristliche Kirchen in antike Heiligtümern." *JDAI* 54, 105-36.

Delivorrias, A. (1991). "Interpretatio Christiana." *Euphrosunon: Festschrift M. Hatzedakis*. Athens.

Dengate, J. (1981). "Coin Hoards from the Gymnasium Area at Corinth." *Hesperia*, 147-88.

Deubner, O. (1937). "Zum grossen Proyläen von Eleusis." *DAI* 62, 73-81.

DeWaele, F.J. (1933). "The Sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia at Corinth." *AJA* 37, 417-51.

——. (1935). "The Fountain of Lerna and the Early Christian Cemetery at Corinth." *AJA* 39, 352-9.

——. (1940?). *The Asklepieion District*. Unpublished Manuscript.

Diehl, C.G. (1969). "Replacement or Substitution in the Meeting of Religions" in *Syncretism*, ed. S.S. Hartman, 137-161. Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Dinsmoor, W.B. (1949). "The Largest Temple in the Peloponnese." *Hesperia*, Supp. 8 105-115.

Doukellis, P. (1994). "Le territoire del la colonie romaine de Corinthe." *Structures Rurales et Société Antiques*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 359-90.

Downey, G. (1939). "The Olympic Games of Antioch in the Fourth Century A.D." *TAPA* 70, 428-38.

Drijvers, H.J.W. (1984). "Hellenistic and Oriental Origins." in *East of Antioch: Studies in Early Syriac Christianity*. London: Variorum.

Dunnell, R.C. and W.S. Dancey. (1983). "The Siteless Survey: A Regional Scale Data Collection Survey. "*Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 6, 267-87.

Elderkin, G.W. (1941). "The Natural and Artificial Grotto." *Hesperia* 9, 125-137.

Eliade, M. (1959). *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Trans. W.R. Trask. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Engels, D. (1991). *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Engemann, J. (1972). "Anmerkungen zu Spätantiken Geräten des Alltagslebens mit Christlichen Bildern, Symbolen und Inschriften." *JAC* 15, 154-73.

——. (1975). "Zur Verbreitung Magischer Übelabwehr in der NichtChristlichen und Christlichen Spätantike." *JAC* 18, 22-48.

'Εργον (1955). "Π. Κόρινθος. Β) Πάνω Μαγούλσ." 69.

——. (1957). "Λεχαίον a) Νυμφαίου." 53-8.

Erim, K.T. (1986). *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite*. London: Muller, Blond and White.

Evans, J.A.S. (1961). "A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Greco-Roman Period." *YCS* 17, 149-283.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1956). *Nuer Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faraone, C.A. (1992). *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ferguson, J. (1989). *Among the Gods: An Archaeological Exploration of Greek Religion*. New York.

Feuchtwang, S. (1977). "School Temple and City God." *The City in Late Imperial China*, 581-608. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Fine, J.V.A., jr. (1983). The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to Late Twelfth Century. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Finley, J.H. (1932). "Corinth in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 7.4, 477-499.

Foerster, G. (1930). "Traces of the Synagogue at Corinth." *Gadmoniot* 3, 104.

Fontaine, J. (1968). *Sulpice Sévère, Vie de Saint Martin*, ii. Paris.

Fontenrose, J. (1988). *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Foss, C. (1975). "The Persians in Asia Minor at the End of Antiquity." *EHR* 90, 721-43.

——. (1977). "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia." *AJA* 81, 469-86.

——. (1979). Ephesos after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City. Cambridge: University Press.

Frost, F. (1977). "Phourkari: A Villa Complex in the Argolis, Greece." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 6, 233-38.

Fowden, G. (1978). "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, A.D. 320-435." *JTS* 29.1, 53-78.

——. (1982). "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society." *JHS* 102, 35-89.

——. (1989). "Between Pagans and Christians." *JRS* 89, 173-182.

——. (1988). "City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica." *JHS* 108, 48-53.

——. (1990a). "Religious Development in Late Roman Lycia: Topographical Preliminaries." *Ποικίλα*. Athens.

——. (1990b). "The Athenian Agora and the Progress of Christianity." *JRA* 3, 494-501.

——. (1991). "Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion." *JRS* 91, 119-131.

——. (1993). *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Fowler, H.N., R. Stillwell et al. (1932). *Corinth* I,i: *Introduction, Topography, Architecture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Frantz, A. (1965). "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens." *DOP* 16, 187-205.

——. (1988). *The Athenian Agora* 24: *Late Antiquity A.D. 267-700.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Garnett, K.S. (1975). "Late Roman Korinthian Lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps." *Hesperia* 44, 173-206

Gassowska, B. (1982). "Maternus Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio Orientis and the Destruction of the Allat Temple in Palmyra." *Archeologia* 33, 27-35.

Gaudemet, J. (1958). *L'Eglise dans l'Empire Romain (IVe-Ve siecles).* Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident III. Paris: Sirey.

Geary, P. (1983). "Humiliation of Saints." In S. Wilson, *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History,* 123-140. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gebhard, E.R. (1973). *The Theater at Isthmia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

——. (1987/8). "Isthmia." *AR* 1987/8, 22.

Georgiades, A. (1907). *Les Ports de la Grèce dans l'Antiquité.* Athens.

Gordon, R.L. (1979). "The Real and the Imaginary: Production and Religion in the Greco-Roman World." *Art History* 2.1, 5-34.

Gottdiener, M. and A. Ph. Lagopoulos. (1986). *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics.* Columbia: Columbia University Press.

Greene, K. (1986). *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy.* London: B.J. Batsford, Ltd.

Gregoire, H. (1972). *Recuil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineur.* Paris: Leroux.

Gregory, T.E. (1979a). *Vox Populi: Violence and Popular Involvement in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.* Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

——. (1979b). "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth." *Hesperia* 48, 264-80.

——. (1983). "The Oracle at Delos in Late Antiquity." *CW* 76.5, 290-91.

——. (1984). "Cities and Social Evolutuon in Roman and Byzantine Southeast Europe." In *European Social Evolution: Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. J. Bintliff 267-276. Bradford, England: University of Bradford.

——. (1985). "An Early Byzantine Complex at Akra Sophia near Corinth." *Hesperia* 54, 411-28.

——. (1986a). "A Desert Island Survey in the Gulf of Corinth." *Archaeology* 39, 16-21.

——. (1986b). "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay." *AJP* 107, 229-42.

——. (1993). *Isthmia VI: The Hexamillion and Fortress.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Greig, J.R.A. and J. Turner. (1974). "Some Pollen Diagrams from Greece and their Archaeological Significance." *JAS* 1, 177-94.

Haldon, F. (1990). Byzantium in the Seventh Century. London.

Halkin, F. (1953). "Saint Léonide et ses sept compagnes martyres á Corinthe." *Επετέριç* 23, 217-223.

——. (1977). *Douze Récits Byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome.* Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes.

Hanfmann, G.M.A. and N.H. Ramage. (1978). *Sculpture from Sardis.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harl, K.W. (1990). "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth and Sixth Century Byzantium." *Past and Present* 128, 7-27.

Harries, J. (1988). 'The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II." *JRS* 75, 148-172.

Hawley, J.S. (1991). "Naming Hinduism," *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer), 20-34.

Hawthorne, J. (1965). "Cenchreae, Port of Corinth." *Archaeology* 18, 191-200.

Hellenkemper-Salicis, G. (1986). "Römische Mosaiken im Griechenland." *BJ* 186, 241-84.

Herington, C.J., R.G. Goodchild and J.M. Reynolds. (1958). "The Temple of Zeus at Cyrene." *PBSR* 26, 30-62.

Herrin, J. (1989). *The Formation of Christendom.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Herrmann, H.-V. (1972). *Olympia: Heiligtum und Werrkampfstätte.* München: Hirmer Verlag.

Hill, B.H. (1964). *Corinth* I, vi: *The Springs, Peirene, Sacred Spring, Glauke.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Hiltebeitel, A. (1991). "Of Camphor and Coconuts," *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer), 28-9.

Hohlfelder, R.L. (1970a). "Pausanias II.2.3: A Collation of Archaeological and Numismatic Evidence." *Hesperia* 39, 326ff.

——. (1970b). "A Small Deposit of Bronze Coins from Kenchreai." *Hesperia* 39, 68-72.

——. (1973). "A Sixth Century Hoard from Kenchreai." *Hesperia* 42, 89-101.

——. (1975). "Barbarian Incursions into Central Greece in the Sixth Century of the Christian Era: More Evidence from the Korinthia." *East European Quarterly* 9, 251-8.

——. (1976). "Kenchreai on the Saronic Gulf: Aspects of its Imperial History." *CJ* 71, 217-226.

——. (1978). *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth* III: *The Coins.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Hood, S. (1970). "Isles of Refuge in the Early Byzantine Period." *BSA* 65, 37-45.

Ibrahim, L., R. Scranton and R. Brill (1976). *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth* II: *The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Ingham. J.M (1986). *Mary, Michael and Lucifer: Folk Catholicism in Central Mexico.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Irmscher, J. (1981). "Paganismus im Justinianischen Reich." *Klio* 63.2, 683-688.

Isager, S. and J. Skydsgaard. (1992). *Ancient Greek Agriculture: an Introduction.* London: Routledge.

Ivison, E. (1996). "Burial and Urbanism at Late Antique and Early Byzantine Corinth (c. AD 400-700)." In *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie and S. T. Loseby, 99-125. Hants (England): Scolar Press.

Jeffreys, E. (1990). "Malalas' World View." In *Studies in John Malalas* 54-66. Sydney: AABS.

Johnson, F.P. (1931). *Corinth* IX, i: *Sculpture 1896-1923.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Johnston, S. (1991). "Crossroads." *ZPE* 86, 217-24.

Jones, A.H.M. (1964). *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey.* 2 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

——. (1966). *The Greek City.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, A.H.M., J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. (1971). *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I (A.D. 260-395).* Cambridge: University Press.

Jordan, D. (1975). "Angels in the 'Fountain of the Lamps' at Corinth." *Actes du XVe Congrès Intern. d'Et. byz.* I, 69. Athens.

——. (1994). "Inscribed Lamps from a Cult at Corinth in Late Antiquity" *HThR* 87:2, 223-29.

Jules-Rosette, B. (1979). "Prophecy and Leadership in the Maranke Church: A Case Study in Continuity and Change." In G. Bond, W. Johnson and S. Walker, *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity,* 109-136. New York: Academic Press.

Kaplan, J. (1980). "A Samaritan Amulet from Corinth." *Israel Exploration Journal* 30, 196-8.

Kaplan, M. (1985). "L'exploitation paysanne byzantine entre l'antiquité et le moyen age (VIe-VIIIe siècles): affirmation d'une structure économique et sociale." *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium,* 101-105. V. Varinek, ed. Prague.

Karageorghis, V. (1961). "Sculpture from Salamis." *Atti del Settimo Congresso di archaeologia classica.* Susini: Rome.

——. (1964). *Sculpture from Salamis* I. Nicosia: Dept. of Antiquities.

Karageorghis, V and C.C. Vermeulle. (1966). *Sculpture from Salamis* II. Nicosia: Dept. of Antiquities.

Karivieri, A. (1994). "The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens. "*Post -Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267-529*, 89-114. Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens.

——. (1996). *The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity*. Helsinki : Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens.

Kardulias, P.N. (1994). "Towards an Anthropological Historical Archaeology in Greece." *Historical Archaeology* 28(3), 39-55.

Kardulias, P. N., T.E. Gregory, and J. Sawmiller. (1995). "Bronze Age and Late Antique Expoitation of an Islet in the Saronic Gulf, Greece." *JFA* 22(1), 3-21.

Kazdhan, A.P. (1954). "Vizantijskie goroda v VII-IX vv." *Sovietskaya Arkheologija* 21, 164-88.

Keil, B. (1913). "Ein *ΛΟΓΟΣ ΣΥΣΤΑΤΙΚΟΣ*." Nach. der kön. Gesell. Wiss. zu Gött. Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1, 1-41.

Kennedy, C. (1963). "The Development of the Lamp in Palestine." *Berytus* 14, 67-115.

Kennedy, H. (1985a). "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation." *ByzForsch* 10, 141-38.

——. (1985b). "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria." *Past and Present* 106, 3-27.

——. (1987). "Recent Archaeological work in Syria and Jordan. "*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11, 245-52.

Kent, J.H. (1966). *Corinth* VIII, iii: *The Inscriptions 1926-1950*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Kitzinger, E. (1954). "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm." *DOP* 8, 83-150.

Knipe, D.M. (1988). "The Temple in Image and Reality" in in M.V. Fox, ed. *Temple in Society*, 105-138. Einbrauns: Winoan Lake.

Kosko. B. (1993). *Fuzzy Thinking: The New Science of Fuzzy Logic*. New York: Hyperion.

Krautheimer, R. (1983). *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——. (1986). *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. 4th ed. London: Penguin Books.

Kunupiotu-Manolessu (1972). "*Βυζαντινὰ, καὶ μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Πελοποννήσου." ΑΔ* 27, *Χρονικά* 293.

——. (1973). "*Βυζαντινὰ, καὶ μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Πελοποννήσου." ΑΔ* 28, *Χρονικά* 228-9.

Ladner, G.B. (1953). "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclatic Controversy." *DOP* 7, 1-34.

Lampakes, G. (1907). "Χριστιανικαί Κεγχρεαί." In *Miscellanea di archaeologia, storia e filogia dedicate a Prof. Antonio Salinas*, 71-80. Palermo.

Leclerq, H. (1924). "Athènes." *DACL* I/2, 3039-3104. Paris.

Ledrut, R. (1986). "Speech and the Silent of the City." In M. Gottdiener and A. Ph. Lagopoulos.eds, *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics,* 114-134. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

Lehmann-Hartleben, K. (1923). "Die Antike Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres." *Klio* 14, 259.

Leibeschuetz, J.H.W.G. (1959). "The Finances of Antioch in the Fourth Century A.D." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 52, 344-56.

——. (1972). *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

——. (1979). "Problems arising from the Conversion of Syria." In D. Baker, ed. *The Church in Town and Countryside (Studies in Church History 16)* 17-24. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

——. (1985). "The Fall of John Chrysostom." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 29, 1-31.

——. (1988). "Antioch and the Villages of Northern Syria in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D.: Trends and Problems." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 33, 65-90.

Leveau, P. (1983). "La ville antique et l'organisation de l'espace rural: *villa*, ville, village." *Annales. Economie Sociétés, Civilisations,* 920-42.

Ling, R. (1977). "Studies in the Beginnings of Roman Landscape Paintings." *JRS* 67, 1-16.

Lison-Tolosana, C. (1966). *Belmonte de los Caballeros. A Sociological Study of a Spanish Town.* Oxford: Clarendon Press,.

L'Orange, H.P. (1965). *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Luck, G. (1958). "Palladas--Christian or Pagan?" *HSCP* 63, 455-71.

Lushforth, J. (1915). "Funerary Lights in Roman Sepulchre Monuments." *JRS* 3, 149ff.

Lyon-Caen, C. and V. Hoff. (1986). *Catalogue des lampes en terre cuite grecques et chrétiennes.* Paris: Ministère del la culture.

Maas, R. (1913). *BZ* 22, 534-5

MacMullen, R. (1981). *Paganism in the Roman Empire.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

——. (1982). "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire." *AJP* 103, 233-46.

——. (1986). "Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia." *ZPE* 18.1, 237-8.

——. (1984). *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400).* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Maguire, E.D., H.P. Maguire and M.J. Duncan-Flowers. (1989). *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House.* Urbana: University of Chicago Press.

Mango, C. (1963). "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder." *DOP* 12, 53-75.

Marriott, M (1955). "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization" in *Village India: Studies in the Little Community,* 171-222. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Marcus, R.A. (1970). "Gregory the Great and a Papal Missionary Strategy." In G.J. Cuming, ed., *Studies in Church History* 6: *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martindale, J.R. (1980). *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II (A.D. 395-527).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martroye, M.F. (1924). "Destruction par les Chretiens des statues antiques." *Bull. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquitaires de France,* 151-4.

Matthews, J.F. (1973). "Symmachus and the Oriental Cults." *JRS* 63, 175-95.

Mathews, T.F (1993). *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mee, C., D. Gill, H. Forbes, and L. Foxhall. (1992). "Rural Settlement Change in the Methana Peninsula, Greece." *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region,* 223-232. London: British School at Rome.

Meiggs, R. (1973). *Roman Ostia.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mendel, G. (1914). *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines.* Constantinople: Musée Imperial.

Meritt, B.D. (1931). *Corinth* VIII, i: *Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Merrifield, R. (1969). *Roman London.* London: Cassell.

——. (1987). *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic.* London: B.T. Batsford.

Meyer, E.A. (1990). "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs." *JRS* 80, 74-96.

Michaud, J.P. (1971). "Chronique des fouilles en 1970." *BCH* 95, 858.

——. (1972). "Chronique des fouilles en 1971." *BCH* 96, 638.

Millar, F. (1984). "The Mediterranean and the Roman Revolution: Politics, War, and the Economy." *Past and Present* 102, 3-24.

Miller, S.G. (1986). "Poseidon at Nemea" in *Φιλία Ἔπη* 1 (Festschrift Mylonas), 261-71. Athens.

——. (1972). "A Mosaic Floor from a Roman Villa at Anaploga." *Hesperia* 41, 332-56.

Miltner, F. (1937). *Forschungen in Ephesos* IV, 2. Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer.

Morgan, C.H. II. (1937). "Excavations at Corinth, 1936-7." *AJA* 41,539-552.

——. (1938). "Excavations at Corinth, Autumn 1937." *AJA* 42, 362-70.

Morris, B. (1987). *Anthropological Studies of Religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mrozek, S. (1973). "A propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions Latines dans le Haut-Empire. "*Epigraphica* 31, 113-118.

——. (1988). "A propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions Latines dans le Haut-Empire. "*Epigraphica* 60, 61-64.

Murray, A. (1963). "Peter Brown and the Shadow of Constantine." *JRS* 73, 191-203.

Negris, T.H. (1904). "Vestiges Antiques Submergées." *AM* 29, 340ff.

Nilsson, M.P. (1950). "Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike. "*Opuscula Archaeologica* (Lund) 6, 96-111.

Nistler, J. (1910). "Vettius Agorius Praetextatus." *Klio* 10, 462-75.

Nock, A.D. (1925). "Two Notes on the Asclepius." *JTS* 36, 73-6.

——. (1933). *Conversion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nock, A.D. and A.-J. Festugière. (1945). *Corpus Hermeticum* II. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Norman , A. E. (1969). *Libanios* I. Harvard: Loeb Classical Library.

North, J.A. (1976). "Conservatism and Change in Roman Religion." *PBSR* 44, 1-12.

Orlandos, A.K. (1935). "*Ἡ 'βασιλικὴ' τῶν Κεγχρεῶν.*" *Πρακτικά*, 55-6.

Orr, D. (1978). "Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines." *ANRW* 2.16.2, 1557-1591.

Ostrogorsky, G. (1959). "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages." *DOP* 13, 47-6.

Pallas, D.I. (1953). "*Ανασκαφὴ ἐν Παλαιᾷ Κορίνθω.*" *Πρακτικά*, 175-83.

——. (1954). "*Ανασκαφὴ ἐν Παλαιᾷ Κορίνθῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 210-218.

——. (1955a). "*Ανασκαφὴ ἐν Παλαιᾷ Κορίνθῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 193-210.

——. (1955b). "Ανασκαφή ρωμαϊκής επαύλεως παρά τήν Κόρινθον." *Πρακτικά*, 201-16.

——. (1956). "*Ανασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 164-178.

——. (1957). "*Ανασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 95-104.

——. (1958). "*Ανασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 119-134.

——. (1959a). "*Ανασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 126-140.

——. (1959b). "Scoptere archeologiche in Grecia negli anni 1956-58." *RivAC* 35, 187-233.

——. (1960a). "*Μεσαιωνικὰ 'Αργολιδοκορινθίας.*" *ΑΔ* 16, *Χρονικά* 59.

——. (1960b). "*Ανασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 144-170.

——. (1961). "*Ανασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 137-54.

——. (1961/2). "Ανασκαφαί Λεχαίου (1956-60). "*ΑΔ* 17, *Χρονικά* 69-78.

——. (1965). *Πρακτικά*, 157-67.

——. (1970a). "Über der Datierung eines Kapitells der Basilika von Lechaion (Korinth)." *BZ* 63, 69ff.

——. (1970b). "*Ανασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τοῦ Κρανείου ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 98-117.

——. (1972a). " *Ανασκαφές ἐν Παλαιᾷ Κορίνθω*" *Πρακτικά*, 205-250.

——. (1972b). "*Ανασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τοῦ Κρανείου ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 205-250.

——. (1975). "Investigations sur les monuments chrétiens de Grèce avant Constantin." *CahArch* 24, 1-19.

——. (1976). "*'Ανασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τοῦ Κρανείου ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*" *Πρακτικά*, 163-195.

——. (1977a). *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1973.* (Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiana 5) Rome: Pontifico Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana.

——. (1977b). “*᾿Ανασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα είς τὴν βασιλικὴν τοῦ Κρανείου ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*” *Πρακτικά*, 162-183.

——. (1979). “Corinthe et Nicopolis pendant le haut moyen-âge.” *Felix Ravenna* 18. 93-142.

——. (1979/80). “Monuments et textes: rémarques sur la liturgie dans quelques basiliques paléochrétiens.” Επέτερις τις Εταιρείας βυζάντινων Σπούδον 44, 37-116.

——. (1990). “Korinth” in *Reallexicon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* 4. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.

Panagiotide, M. (1970/71). “*Βυζαντινὰ κιονόκρανα μὲ ανάγλυφα ζῶα.*” *Deltion* IV.6, 98, 117.

Papachristodoulou, I. (1969). “Χιλιομόδι.” *ΑΔ* 24, B1 103-4.

Papadopoulos, J.K. (1989). “Roman Amphorae from the Excavations at Torone.” *AE*, 67-103.

Parke, H.W. (1985). *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor.* London: Croome Helm.

Parsons s. Carpenter, M.G. Phugias. (1968). *῾Ιστορὶα τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου.* Athens.

Payne, H. et al. (1940). *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia.* Vols. I and II. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peek, W (1972). Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros. Berlin.

Pemberton, E.G. (1989). *Corinth* XVIII, i: *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Greek Pottery*. Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Peppers, J. Marty. (1979). *Selected Roman Pottery, Isthmia Excavations.* Diss., University of Pennsylvania.

Phane-Drosogianne. (1968). “*Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Πελοποννήσου.*" *ΑΔ* 23, *Chronika* 195-201.

Philadelpheus, A. (1918). “Αρχαία επαύλες μετά Νυμφαίου εν Λεχαίου.” *ΑΔ*, 4 125-35.

de Pina-Cabral, Joao. (1986). *Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve: The Peasant Worldview of the Alto Minho*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pirazzoli, P.A. (1986). “The Early Byzantine Tectonic Paroxysm.” *Z. Geomorph.* Supp. 62, 31-49.

Polakis, P. (1916). “*῾Επίσκοποι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου.*" *᾿Ιερὸς Σύνδεσμος*, Nr 273 (15 Sept.), 1ff.

——. (1917). “*῾Επίσκοποι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου.*" *᾿Ιερὸς Σύνδεσμος* Nr. 281 (15 Jan.), 14ff.

Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. (1986). “Lampes Paléochrétiennes de Samos.” *BCH* 110, 583-610.

Price, S.R.F. (1984). *Rituals and Powers: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1952). “Religion and Society.” In *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London: Cohen and West.

Randsborg, K. (1991). *The First Millennium A.D. in Europe and the Mediterranean: An Archaeological Essay*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rapp, G.. Jr. and S.E. Aschenbrenner. (1978). *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece, II: Site, Environs, Techniques.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Renfrew, C. (1985). *The Archaeology of Cult: the Sanctuary at Phylakopi.* London: British School of Archaeology at Athens [Supp. Vol. 18].

Renfrew, C. and J. Wagstaff, eds. (1982). *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ridgeway, B.S. (1981). “Sculpture from Corinth.” *Hesperia* 50, 422-448.

Robert, L. (1946). *Hellenica* III. Paris.

——. (1948). *Hellenica* IV. Paris.

Robinson, D.N. (1915). “An Analysis of the Pagan Revival of the Late Fourth Century, with Especial Reference to Symmachus.” *TAPA* 46, 87-101.

Robinson, H.S. (1967). "Church of Haghia Paraskevi, Ancient Corinth." *AΔ* 22, *Χρονικά* 218-19.

——. (1976). "Excavations at Corinth: Temple Hill, 1968-72." *Hesperia* 45, 222-3, 237-8.

Roebuck, C. (1951). *Corinth* XIV:*The Asklepieion and Lerna.* Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Romano, D. (1993). "Post-146 B.C. Land Use in Corinth, and Planning of the Roman Colony of 44 B.C." *The Korinthia in the Roman Period,* ed. T.E. Gregory. Ann Arbor: JRA Supplement 8.

Rosen, S.A. (1987). "Byzantine Nomadism in the Negev: Results from the Emergency Survey." *JFA* 14, 29-42.

Rostovtzeff, M. I. (1957). *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Rothaus, R.M. (1993). "Pagan Cult and Late Antique Society in the Korinthia." PhD Diss., Ohio State University.

——. (1994). "Urban Space, Agricultural Space and Villas in Late Roman Corinth." *Structures Rurales et Société Antiques,* 391-96. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

——. (1995). "Lechaion, Western Port of Corinth: A Brief Archaeology and History." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14.3, 293-306.

——. (1996a). "Earthquakes and Temples in Late Antique Corinth." *Archaeoseismology,* ed. S. Stiros and R.E. Jones, 105-112. Athens: British School at Athens.

——. (1996b). "Christianization and De-Paganization: The Late Antique Creation of a Conceptual Frontier." *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity,* ed. R.W. Mathisen and H.S. Sivan, 281-291. Aldershot: Variorum.

Runnels, C. and T. van Andel. (1987). "The Evolution of Settlement in the Southern Argolid, Greece. An Economic Explanation." *Hesperia* 56, 303-34.

Russel, J. (1986). "Transformation in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence." *XVII International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers,* 137-54. New Rochelle.

Sakellariou, M. and N. Faraklas. (1971). *Korinthia--Cleonaea.* Athens: Athens Technological Organization.

Salmon, J.B. (1984). *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Salzman, M.R. (1991). *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sanders, I.F. (1976). "Settlement on the Plains of Mesora, Crete." *BSA* 71, 132-7.

——. (1982). *Roman Crete.* Witts, England: Aris and Philips, Ltd.

Sanders, G.D.R. (1981). "Reassessing Ancient Populations." *BSA* 79, 251-62.

Sanders, G.D.R. and I.K. Whitebread. (1990). "Central Places and Major Roads in the Peloponnese." *BSA* 85, 353-65.

Saradi-Mendelovici, H. (1990). "Christian attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries." *DOP,* 47-62.

Schlief, H.and H. Weber. (1944). "Das Nymphäum des Herodes Attikos." In *Olympische Forschungen* I, 53-82. Berlin.

Scranton, R.L. (1951). *Corinth* I, iii: *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

——. (1957). *Corinth* XVI, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies.

——. (1967). "Glass Pictures from the Sea." *Archaeology* 20, 163-73.

——. (1976). "De PH apud Cenchreas." *CP* 71, 106-8.

Scranton, R.L. and E.S. Ramage. (1964). "Investigations at Kenchreai, 1963." *Hesperia* 33, 134-45.

——. (1967). "Investigations at Korinthian Kenchreai." *Hesperia* 36, 124-86.

Scranton, R.L. et al. (1978). *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth, I: Topography and Architecture.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Seeck, O. (1966). *Die Briefe des Libanius.* Hildsheim: Georg Olms.

Settis, S. (1973). "'Esedra' e 'ninfeo' nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano. Dall'età repubblicana alla tarda antichità." *ANRW* 1.4, 661-745.

Shanks, M. and C. Tilley. (1987). *Re-Constructing Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, J.B. (1967a). "A Double-Sheaved Pulley Block from Kenchreai." *Hesperia* 36, 389-401.

——. (1967b). "Shallow-water Excavation at Kenchreai." *AJA* 71, 223-231.

——. (1970). "Shallow-water Excavation at Kenchreai: II." *AJA* 74, 179-80.

Shear, T.L. (1925). "Excavations at Corinth in 1925." *AJA* 29, 381-97.

——. (1926). "Excavations in Corinth, 1926" *AJA* 30, 444-463.

——. (1930). *Corinth* V: *The Roman Villa*. Princeton: Harvard University Press.

——. (1931). "The Excavation of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth in 1930" *AJA* 35, 424-441.

Shear, T.L., Jr. (1971). "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970." *Hesperia* 40, 266-70.

——. (1972). "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971." *Hesperia* 41, 156-64.

Shelley, J.M. (1943). "The Christian Basilica near the Kenchrean Gate at Corinth." *Hesperia* 12, 166-89.

Sheppard, A.R.R. (1980/81). "Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor." *Talanta* 13/14, 77-101.

Skinner, G.W. (1977). "Cities and the Heirarchy of Local Systems" *The City in Late Imperial China*, 275-351. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Skorupski, J. (1976). *Symbol and Theory: A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Slane, K.W. (1990). *Corinth* XVIII, ii: *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Roman Pottery*. Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Smith, R.R.R. (1990). "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias." *JRS* 80, 127-55.

Snively, C.S. (1984). "Cemetery Churches of the Early Byzantine Period in Eastern Illyricum: Location and Martyrs." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29, 117-124.

Sodini, J.-P. (1984). "L'Habitat Urbain en Grèce à la Veille des Invasions." *Villes et Peuplement des Illyricum Protobyzantin*, 341-97. Rome.

Spawforth, A. (1994). "Corinth, Argos and the Imperial Cult." *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 211-32.

Spieser, J.M. (1976). "La Christianisation des Sanctuaires Païens en Grèce" in *Neue Forschungen in Griechischen Heiligtümern*, 309-320. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.

——. (1984a). "La Ville en Grèce du IIIe au VIIe siècle" in *Villes et Peuplement des Illyricum Protobyzantin*. Rome.

——. (1984b). *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV*^{e} *au VI*^{e} *siècle: contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne*. Athens.

Spiro, M. (1978). *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, 4th-6th centuries, with an Architectural Survey*. 2 vols. N.Y.: Garland Publishers.

Stambaugh, J.E. (1978). "The Functions of Roman Temples." *ANRW* 2.16.1, 554-608.

Stewart, C. (1991). *Demons and the Devil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stikas, E. (1957). "Ανακαφή νυμφαίου και κρήνης παρά το Λέχαιον Κορινθίας." *Πρακτικά*, 88-94.

——. (1961). *"Κοιμητηριακὴ βασιλικὴ Παλαιᾶς Κορίνθου."* *Πρακτικά*, 129-136.

——. (1962). *"Κοιμητηριακὴ βασιλικὴ Παλαιᾶς Κορίνθου."* *Πρακτικά*, 51-56.

——. (1965). "La basilique céméteriale découverte à Corinthe." *Atti VI Congr. Intern. Arch. Crist.*, 471-9.

Stiros, S., P. Pirazzoli, R. Rothaus, S. Papageorgiou, J. Laborel and M. Arnold. (1996). "On the Date of the Construction of Lechaion, Western Harbour of Ancient Corinth, Greece." *Georchaeology* 11.3, 251-263.

Stillwell, A.N. (1948). *Corinth* XV, i: *The Potters Quarter*. Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Stillwell, R. (1936). "Excavations at Corinth, 1934-5." *AJA* 40, 21-45.

——. (1952). *Corinth* II: *The Theater*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Stillwell, R., R.L. Scranton, S.E. Freeman, et al. (1941). *Corinth* I, ii: *Architecture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Stroud, R. (1965). "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Preliminary Report I: 1961-2." *Hesperia* 34, 1-24.

Sturgeon, M. (1987). *Isthmia* IV: *Sculpture I: 1952-1967*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Thélamon, F. (1981). *Païens et Chrétiens au IVe siècle: L'apport de l' Histoire Ecclésiastique de Rufin d'Aquilée*. Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes.

Thomas, K. (1971). *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Thompson, H.A. (1959). "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600." *JRS* 49, 61-72.

Thornton, T.C.G. (1986). "The Destruction of Idols--Sinful or Meritorious?" *JTS* n.s. 37, 121-29.

Tod, M.N. and A.J.B. Wace. (1906). *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Trombley, F. (1985). "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece." *HThR* 78, 327-52.

——. (1981). The Survival of Paganism in the Byzantine Empire during the Pre-Iconoclastic Period. Diss., UCLA.

Trout, D. (1996). "The Great Divide: Town, Countryside, and Christianization at Paulinus' Nola." *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. R.W. Mathisen and H.S. Sivan, 175-186. Aldershot: Variorum.

Vallet, J.-P. (1992). "Survey Archaeology and Rural History--A Difficult but Productive Relationship." *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*, 10-17. London: British School at Rome.

van Andel, T., C. Runnels and K. Pope. (1986). "Five Thousand Years of Land Use and Abuse in the Southern Argolid." *Hesperia* 55, 103-128.

van Andel, T. and C. Runnels. (1987). *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Van Dam, R. (1985). "From Paganism to Christianity at Late Antique Gaza." *Viator* 16, 1-20.

van der Sprenkel, S. (1977). "Urban Social Control." *The City in Late Imperial China,* 609-32. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Van Straten, F.T. (1981). "Gifts for the Gods." in H.J. Versnel, ed. *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World,* 65-151. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Verdelis, N.M. and Olga Alexandri. (1961/2). "Ἅγιοι Θεοδόροι Κορινθιάς. " *ΑΔ*, 52-4.

Vollgraff, W. (1945). "Argos dans le Dependance de Corinthe au IVe siecle." *AC* 14, 1-28

Vryonis, S. (1978). "Recent Scholarship on Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture: Classical Greeks, Byzantines and Modern Greeks, " in *The Past in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture,* 237-56. Malibu.

Waagé, F.O. (1941). "Lamps" in R. Stillwell, ed. *Antioch on the Orontes* III: *Excavations of 1937-9*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Walbank, M. (1989). "Pausanias, Octavia and Temple E at Corinth." *BSA* 84, 359-94.

Ward-Perkins, B. (1984). *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300-850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. (1963). *The Sociology of Religion*. Trans. Ephraim Fischoff. Boston: Beacon Press.

Weinberg, S.S. (1960). *Corinth* I, v: *The Southeast Building, the Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Weiss, G. (1977). "Antike und Byzanz. Der Kontinuitat der Gesellschaftsstruktur." *Historische Zeitschrift* 224, 529-60.

Weithmann, M.W. (1979). "Strukturkontinuitat und -diskontinuitat auf det greischischen Halbinsel im Gefolge der slavischen Landnahme." *Muncher Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 2, 141.

Weitzmann, K. (1944). "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret, and Malalas." *Byzantion* 16.1, 87-134.

Weller, C.H. et al. (1903). "The Cave at Vari." *AJA* 7, 263-352.

Wells, B. (1992). *Agriculture in Ancient Greece*. Goreborg: P. Astroms Forlag.

West, A.B. (1931). *Corinth* VIII, ii *Latin Inscriptions, 1896-1926*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

White, H. (1983). "The Politics of Historical Interpretation: Discipline and De-Sublimation." In W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *The Politics of Interpretation*. Chicago.

White, L.M. (1990). *Building God's House: Architecture among Pagans, Jews and Christians*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Whittaker, C.R. (1976). "Agri Deserti." *Studies in Roman Property*, M.I. Finley, ed. 137-165. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wickens, J.M. (1986). The Archaeology and History of Cave Use in Attica, Greece. Diss., Indiana University.

Wickham, C. (1984). "The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism." *Past and Present* 103, 3-36.

Williams, C.K. II. (1967). *ΑΔ* 22, B1 *Χρονικά*, 185.

——. (1971). *ΑΔ* 26, B1 *Χρονικά* 96.

——. (1972). *ΑΔ* 27, B1 *Χρονικά* 223-4.

——. (1976). "Corinth 1975, Forum Southwest." *Hesperia* 45, 99-162.

——. (1977). "Corinth 1976: Forum Southwest." *Hesperia* 46, 40-81.

——. (1989). "A Re-evaluation of Temple E and the West End of the Forum of Corinth." *Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (Papers from the 10th British Museum Classical Colloquium, Bull. Sup.. 55), 156-62.

——. (1993). "Roman Corinth as a Commericial Center." *The Korinthia in the Roman Period* (JRA Supplement 8), ed. T.E. Gregory, 31-36.

Williams, C.K.II, J. Macintosh and J.E. Fisher. (1974). "Excavations at Corinth, 1973." *Hesperia* 43, 1-76.

Williams, C.K. II and J.C. Fisher (1975). "Corinth 1974, Forum Southwest." *Hesperia* 44, 1-50.

Williams, C.K. II and O.H. Zervos. (1983). "Corinth 1982, East of the Theater." *Hesperia* 52, 1-47.

——. (1984). "Corinth 1983, The Route to Sikyon" *Hesperia* 53, 83-122.

——. (1987). "Corinth 1986, Temple E and East of the Theater." *Hesperia* 56, 1-46.

——. (1990). "Excavations at Corinth, 1989: The Temenos of Temple E." *Hesperia* 59, 335-6.

Williams, H. (1981). *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth* V: *The Lamps*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Wiseman, J. (1963). "A Trans-Isthmian Fortification Wall." *Hesperia* 32, 271-3.

——. (1967a). "Excavations at Corinth, The Gymnasium Area 1965." *Hesperia* 36, 13-40.

——. (1967b). "Excavations at Corinth, The Gymnasium Area 1966." *Hesperia* 36, 402-28.

——. (1970). "The Fountain of the Lamps." *Archaeology* 23, 216-225.

——. (1972). "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth." *Hesperia* 42, 1-42.

——. (1978). *The Land of the Ancient Korinthians* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 50). Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.

——. (1979). "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267" *ANRW* II.7.1, 438-548.

Witt, R.E. (1971). *Isis in the Greco-Roman World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Wohl, B. (1981). "A Deposit of Lamps from the Roman Bath at Isthmia." *Hesperia* 50, 112-40.

Wright, J.C. et al. (1990). "The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project: A Preliminary Report." *Hesperia* 59, 579-659.

Wright, W.C. (1943). *Julian* III. Harvard: Loeb Classical Library.

Yavis, C.G. (1943). *Greek Altars: Origins and Typology*. Saint Louis: Saint Louis University Press.

Zakythinos, D.A. (1966). "La grande brèche." Χαριστέριον εις Α.Κ. Ορλάνδον. 3, 300-27. Athens.

Zevi, F. and B. Andrea. (1982). "Gli scavi sottomarini di Baia." *La Parola del Passato* 203, 114-156.

Zevi, F. et al. (1983). *Baia: Il ninfeo imperiale sommerso di punta epitaffio*. Banca Sannitica.

Zias, N. (1973/4). "Βψζαντιναᾆ, μεσαιᾳνικαᾆ και τᾆ νεᾳθτερα μνημειᾲα Πελοποννηθσοψ *ΑΔ* 29, *Χρονικά* 412f., pl. 265a.

INDEX

Acrocorinth, 25, 37, 65, 95, 156, 165
Aetopetra, 27, 149
Aghia Paraskevi, 91, 97, 149
Aghionorion, 149-150
Aghios Charalambos, 149
Aghios Gerasimos, 150
Akra Sophia, 26, 150, 159
Alamánnos, 150
Alaric, 16-19, 81, 87, 157
Alexandria, 34-35, 103-107, 112, 115, 155
Altars, 21, 30, 34, 44-45, 56-57, 86, 122, 140-141
Ammianus Marcellinus, 17
Amphitheater Church, 92
Anaploga, 20-21, 25-26, 150, 162
Angelokastro, 150
Angels, 126-129, 130, 136-137
Aphrodisias, 46, 54, 78-79, 107, 111, 114-115, 158, 165
Aphrodite, 5, 37, 47, 54, 64-65, 79, 111, 121, 158
Archaic Temple, 38, 58, 139, 164
Aristophanes of Corinth, 13-15, 36, 82
Asklepieion, 31-60, 85-97, 101, 111, 124-129, 135-139, 157, 164
Asklepieion Springhouse, 48, 53-57
Asprókambos, 150
Athens, 7, 10, 17-18, 31-35, 58, 62, 78-79, 96-98, 110-114, 125-127, 155-167
Augustine, 2, 156
Basilicas, 21, 28, 60, 67, 71-109, 134, 151
Baths, 19-22, 84-89, 141-143, 155, 167
Baths of Aphrodite, 121
Bayevi, 27, 150
Bishop Eustathios, 95
Boulé, 11, 14, 28, 84, 89
Candles, 5, 56, 104, 128
Captives Façade, 22, 116
Caves, 56, 127-130, 149, 166-167
Central Shops, 20-21
Central Staircase, 22
Chrysostom, John, 14, 34-35, 52, 105-109, 131, 161
Churches, 11-12, 32-37, 57-59, 63, 68-76, 91-97, 105-108, 116, 133-, 149-150
Constantine, 12, 34-35, 97, 102- 104, 115, 130, 142-144, 147, 158-162
Constantinople, 59, 93, 97, 102-110, 156, 162
Cross, Christian, 50-56, 108-120, 127, 150
Daimones, 103-114, 131
Defensor Civitatis, 11, 134
Demeter, 14, 20, 33-37, 53, 120, 156, 163-165
Demolition,building, 33, 38-60, 139, 144-147
Diolchos, 62
Dionysus, 78, 118, 120-122
Earthquake, 16-21, 43, 58, 60, 70-73, 93, 135
East of the Theater, 20, 167
Ephesos, 38, 54, 109-111, 158, 162
Euergetism, 59
Eunapios, 17, 20, 34, 51
Evraionisos, 151
Examilia, 151-152
Exorcism, 50, 108-110

Forum, 21-25, 57, 97, 167
Fountain of the Lamps, 42, 47, 55-57, 84, 85, 99, 124, 125, 126-134, 137, 158, 160, 167
Gaza, 5, 33, 45, 60, 93, 108-109, 130, 166
Gerania, 151
Graffiti, 54, 108, 126
Graves, 5, 23, 38-40, 47-63, 75-76, 87, 92-98, 110-115, 128, 137, 148, 151-152
Great Bath on the Lechaion Road, 19, 155
Gymnasium, 20, 85, 96, 125-127, 157, 167
Hemicycle, 22-24
Hexamillion, 81, 86, 139, 157, 159
Hierokles, 10
Imperial Cult, 38, 39, 163, 165
Isthmia, 33, 58, 62, 73, 84-93, 116, 120, 139, 141-144, 151, 156-159, 163-167
Jerome, 5
John of Ephesos, 33
Judaism, 28, 90, 109, 130-131, 166
Julian, 13-17, 34-36, 45, 51-59, 64, 79-82, 102-109, 113, 145-148, 155, 167
Julian Basilica, 19
Kato Almyri, 151
Kenchreai, 19-20, 26-27, 42, 62, 63, 64-84 , 88-92, 100, 151, 152-159, 164-167
Kleonai, 25-26
Kodratos, 94-95, 100
Kokkinovrysi, 25-26, 151
Kondita Station, 151
Kraneion Basilica, 92-97, 100
Krommyon, 150
Kromna, 151
Lamps, 5, 7, 37-65, 85, 104, 124-136, 142-145
Lechaion, 20, 60-64, 73, 83, 93-99, 125, 150-155, 162-165
Lechaion Road, 19, 22, 94
Libanios, 2, 13-17, 35-36, 47, 52, 79, 81-85, 162
Lime kilns, 39-43, 58, 66, 107, 111, 145-148
Liturgy, 13-14, 91-93, 108, 137
Loutra Elenis, 63, 152
Malalas, 34, 52, 59, 104, 115, 160, 166
Martyrium, 56, 95
Menander, 14-15, 82-89
Mosaic House, 20-21, 166
Moulki, 152
Nemea, 45, 58, 162-167
Neoplatonism, 15, 78-80, 89, 115
North Market, 20-21
Nymphaeums, 66-91
Nymphs, 111, 120, 124, 127, 128, 129, 131, 136
Oak of Mamre, 130
Odeion, 20
Olympiodoros, 116
Palladas, 107, 110, 112, 155-156, 161
Pan, 111, 127-29, 155
Pano Maghoula, 26, 152
Parnasios, 13-15, 84
Parthenon, 32
Paul, Apostle, 37, 90, 157, 167
Pausanias, 36-37, 45, 64-66, 83, 159, 166
Peirene Fountain, 22-23, 60, 118-122, 159
Perachora, 152, 163
Perdhikaria, 152
Peribolos of Apollo, 24, 119, 122
Pit, votive, 47
Plato, 2, 68, 77, 79
Poseidon, 14, 64, 81-89, 116, 120, 151-162
Priscus, 34, 104, 116
Ritual, 4-5, 30-38, 46-48, 52, 57, 60-61, 89-99, 107-138
Rome, 2, 12, 93-98, 105, 115, 155-167
Sacralization, landscape, 99-101

Saronic Gulf, 62, 159-160
Schinos, 152
Sculpture, 105-125
Serapeum, 107, 112-115
Skoutelas Basilica, 94-99
Slavs, 10, 34, 74
Socrates, 34, 78, 104-105, 108-109, 114
Solomos, 152
South Basilica, 20, 92
South Shops, 19
South Stoa, 22, 140, 156
Southeast Suburb, 27, 152
Southwest Forum, 20
Sozomen, 34, 52, 105, 108-109, 114, 130-131
Spathovouni, 27, 152
Stikas Basilica, 94-97, 165
Temples, 7, 14, 16, 17, 21, 28, 30, 31-64, 65-68, 73, 78-90, 95, 98, 102-115, 128-148
Temple D, 38, 144
Temple E, 23, 38-58, 85-87, 95, 128, 144-45, 166-167
Temple F, 38, 53, 148
Temple Hill, 20, 95-96, 164
Temple J, 38, 148
Tenea, 152
Tertullian, 5, 104
Theater, 20, 88, 111, 141-142, 158, 165
Theodosius, 34-36, 41-47, 52, 54-59, 67, 81, 139, 143-150, 159
Valentinian I, 17, 20, 43, 73
Varelá, 26, 153
Vari Cave, 110-111, 128
Vigla, 153
Villas, 24-28, 60-66, 79, 91, 115, 134, 150-153, 161
Votives 30, 48, 53, 84, 113, 125-28, 131
Voukiana, 153
West Shops, 19-0
Zosimos, 17-18